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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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THE PRSSS.

The *Sun*, recently "reconstructed" and now edited by Charles A. Dana, Esq., speaking of

THE EFFECTS OF MR. JOHNSON'S ACQUITTAL,

says:

The liberal spirit exhibited by the Senate on the impeachment trial in admitting testimony strenuously objected to by the House Managers shows a disposition to relax the rules of evidence in favor of the President, and a purpose to rise above the prejudices of party, and decide the case strictly upon its merits. This gives countenance to the suggestion, confidently made in some quarters, that Mr. Johnson will probably be acquitted.

The effects of the conviction of the President, which, on no very positive data, has been assumed as certain to occur, have been widely discussed on all sides—the advocates of that result predicting that it would tend to an early completion of the work of reconstruction, a general revival of business, a more rigid accountability among subordinate officers, especially in the Treasury Department, and greater efficiency in the administration of the government, growing out of the unity which would then prevail between the several branches. But, in view of the possible, and, as some insist, the probable acquittal of the President, it is well to inquire what will be the effect of such a termination of the impeachment trial.

In that event, it may be safely assumed that the execution of the pending plan of reconstruction would be arrested, and very likely ultimately broken down. The new Constitutions in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Louisiana, upon which the people are now voting or soon to vote, would pretty certainly be set aside. In fine, the Congressional scheme might be regarded as at an end, and the ten Southern States, with the possible exception of Arkansas, which seems to have adopted its Constitution, would be remanded for an indefinite period to military rule.

The acquittal would almost certainly have the effect of prostrating, if not disbanding, the Republican party. That party is committed to the policy of impeachment. After much hesitation and long reflection, the measure was finally resolved upon by the unanimous voice of the Republicans in the House of Representatives. The Republican press throughout the country, with here and there an exception, favors it. The Republican State Convention which have since assembled, with the minor organizations of the party, have approved of it. Its platform speakers and its mass meetings have advocated it. The New Hampshire and Connecticut campaigns were fought upon this issue. In a word, the party is committed to the measure in every possible form. Now, we are not inquiring whether it was wise for the party thus to commit itself; we are only saying that it has done so, and are but uttering the conviction of every mind capable of forming an opinion upon the question, when we say that defeat upon this issue is the ruin of the party. It would, of course, still keep up a show of organization, and enter upon the Presidential campaign; but it would fight the battle with spiked cannon and under a tarnished flag, and nothing could save it from an overwhelming defeat in November, after which it would substantially be obliged to dissolve and disappear. No wonder that the Republicans in every part of the country are exceedingly sensitive to every symptom which even faintly indicates a likelihood that the President may escape. His acquittal, as they feel with an unerring instinct, would be the certain destruction of their party, and the restoration of the Democrats to power. The latter, too, do not contemplate such an event without anxiety, for they perceive that it might compel them to take up the successful combatant against Congress, and make him their Presidential candidate. This would be a calmity to them; but it is one they could well afford to bear in view of the worst evils which would be inflicted on their antagonists.

The *World* is gloomy over the progress of

FANATICISM.

It says:

There are periods in the history of particular countries when one or the other tendency so gets the upper hand as to suffocate the other. In Asia, conservatism has reigned predominant for centuries, and civilization has been stationary. In the Middle Ages, the intellect of Europe revolved around the ideas of Aristotle and made no advance. The first half century after the Protestant Reformation was a period when the other tendency ran wild, and swarms of fanatics protested against Luther as he had protested against the older Church. The first French revolution was another period of visionary, innovating extravagance. For the last twenty years we, in this country, have been passing through another. The characteristic of such periods is restlessness divorced from intellect. It is curious to observe how every man of superior capacity has been flung aside and discredited by the party in this country which mounts on the whirlwind and rides the storm. Clay and Webster survived their popularity with former supporters, who transferred their confidence to Seward and Chase. These idols of ten years ago are now, in their turn, contemptuously cast aside to give place to crotchetty, ill-balanced minds like Sumner, and Stevens, and Greeley.

This being a period in which the innovating spirit has broken loose and runs wild, the minor squads of fanatics naturally hang about the skirts of the main army, seeking its countenance and protection, and foraging in its neighborhood. They are all inspired by one common spirit of unreasoning innovation. They have all the same arrogant passion for domineering over others, and forcing their notions and practices upon society. They have all the same uneasy craving for excitement, the same abhorrence of quiet, the same vulgar lack of reverence for anything which is established, the same incapacity for cool reflection. When innovation proceeds to such extravagant lengths, it is the certain forerunner of reaction. After the wild sects which were spawned in the last days of Luther, Protestantism made no further progress. The extravagance of the Roundheads reconciled the English nation to the restoration of the Stuarts. France accepted a refuge from the madness of her revolutionists behind the throne of Napoleon. And the signs are neither few nor obscure that this country is becoming fatigued and disgusted with the Radicalism which has proceeded to such a pitch in our politics. God grant that the reaction may not carry us to the other extreme of irrational adherence to a past which the country has in some respects outgrown!

CONSERVATIVE OPINION.

The *Times* foreshadows in the following article the purpose of the "conservatives" to defeat negro suffrage if possible in the preliminary contest which will be inevitable in the Chicago Convention. It says:

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION—THE OUTSIDE PRESSURE.

The nomination of Gen. Grant, at Chicago, we take to be a foregone conclusion. He has no competitor on the Republican side, and will in all probability be nominated by acclamation. We are not so sanguine, however, as to suppose that the construction of the party platform will be accomplished with the same facility or with a result so far above cavil. The extremists are evidently preparing to transfer their contest to the Convention, where they propose to make a hard fight for the control of the policy on which the campaign is to be conducted.

Wendell Phillips is concentrating his efforts for the attainment of this end. He proposes to take to Chicago influences that shall compel the Convention to declare itself for negro suffrage as a principle, and for its immediate establishment in all the States of the Union by act of Congress. He scouts "the invidious restrictive qualifications of education and property," and demands the adhesion of the Republican party to universal negro enfranchisement as a measure of right and expediency to be enforced everywhere. The ultra Radicals who entertain this purpose will not be satisfied with aught less than its explicit indorsation by the delegates who go to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. Nor is this intention confined to the Phillips faction. We have more than one journal in view which, while avowedly resolved to support the Republican nominee, urges, and will urge, the engrafting of negro suffrage on the platform as the only means of preserving party unity.

The German Radicals, again, are vigorously preparing for an onslaught on the Convention. They have issued a call for a gathering of representative men at Chicago, to be held simultaneously with the Republican Convention. And they will take a wider sweep than Wendell Phillips. He asks that the party which has thrust negro suffrage upon the South shall not shrink from forcing it upon the North. The German extremists suggest much more. They take up the principle which underlies the encroachments of Congress on the co-ordinate branches of the government, and require it to be logically and fearlessly carried out. Thus they suggest that, since the Presidency is an obstacle to the attainment of Congressional supremacy, it should be abrogated as an anti-Republican institution. They would intrust the administration of affairs to a committee chosen by Congress and changeable at its pleasure. On the same ground they would reduce the Supreme Court to a mere register of the decrees of Congress, with no right to take cognizance of their constitutionality. Logic and Radicalism carry these iconoclasts still further. They see that Congress itself—judging of it by the doctrines of the ruling party—is not as Republican as it should be. The Senate, representing States as distinguished from numbers, is an impediment to absolute political equality, and must, therefore, be reconstructed or abolished. Its verdict in the impeachment case may for the time mollify the German agitators, but we state the view as now it is, and as it will find favor among their representatives in the minor Convention at Chicago.

Whatever estimate be formed of the degree of folly of which the Republican Managers may be guilty, we do not believe that their German friends will be allowed to pilot the ship of party upon the rocks. Even Wendell Phillips will stand an excellent chance of being unceremoniously thrown overboard, when the Convention undertakes to construct a platform for States, not one of which has committed itself to the negro suffrage principle. The outside movements to which we refer are, however, not therefore to be despised. They are offshoots, and, in a certain sense, allies of the Radicals in Congress, who have been so far permitted to dictate the policy of the party. If the party discards them, as we believe it will, it will be by the sheer strength of those more moderate elements which have, with almost criminal indifference, succumbed to the audacious radicalism of the minority.

It is not so much a question of disruption as of domination. By whom shall the policy, to which the Presidential platform will give form and expression, be shaped? By the extremists, with the German revolutionists and the believers in the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD as their outside supporters and abettors, or by the less aggressive and less compact, but numerically more powerful, elements that find in the Southern problem, together with questions of taxation and finance, issues large enough and delicate enough, for a national campaign? One or the other of these sections of the party will of necessity assert its supremacy at Chicago. There is no smooth road to compromise—no mode of averting the trial of strength which alone will govern the construction of the platform—simply because the ultraists will press their claim to dictate the terms of Gen. Grant's nomination. Acknowledge their pretensions and accept their dogmas, and perfect peace will reign in the wigwam, though with the certainty of creating confusion and difficulty in the country. To secure party vigor and compactness out of doors, these pretensions must be disallowed—these dogmas repudiated—though at the cost of a struggle which may be somewhat angry. The intolerance and recklessness which, according to generally received rumor, have alienated Mr. Chase from the party, are operating similarly on the minds of a large class of Republicans, who will not, for mere partisan considerations, sustain all the arrogant and unconstitutional demands of Congress. These men are not office-holders or office-seekers. They have stood by the party from its beginning on the ground of principle, and they are not willing to see the principles which led to victory trampled under foot at the bidding of men who would invest their own will with an authority superior to the Constitution. Hence the duty of the Convention will be imperative. It must at once settle the controversies which the extremists are preparing to raise, not by a cowardly acquiescence to insolent demands, but by recognizing the results of recent elections, and reaffirming the respect for constitutional forms and principles, without which no party can hope to secure the approving verdict of the American people.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

From Zion's Standard and Weekly Review.

THIS Society for many years the twin-sister of American slavery, is now seeking to increase its funds by an earnest appeal through the press to the charitably disposed throughout the country. We have to regret that hundreds of our fellow-countrymen who have just been released from slavery, have been and still are being duped by this Society to leave their homes, and the land of their birth, to go to Liberia; the "Argument of the belly" is truly a strong one, yet we do not believe the course of the Society is honorable; if the millions of blacks who have been reared in this country, can sustain themselves for a few years, we have no fear for the future; the Society may argue starvation, but if they remain, they can with the knowledge of our country, and being acclimated to our soil, work and gain at least subsistence, and in a few years be able to cultivate their own farms; if starvation and death is to be the fate of hundreds, we say let them meet starvation and death here. Nine-tenths of those who have been induced by the liberal offers of the Society to go, have either died on the passage or after their arrival there, or would to-day return to the States providing they had means to do so.

In the Report for November, 1866, *The African Repository* says, that "eleven hundred and sixty-five people of color have applied to the American Colonization Society for passage to Liberia this Fall." We ask how many of them left here with their own desire and not by deception? How many of them have died during the past year? How many of them would return if they could to the States? In the February number of *The African Repository*, we find the following:

EMIGRATION OF THE YEAR.

"It was hoped early in the year that a sufficient number of applicants for passage to Liberia would be ready to justify the charter of a small vessel for their dispatch, May 1; but as the time approached, they either gave up their intention of going, or concluded to remain for a later opportunity. During the Summer, however, 1,165 applicants were enrolled to embark November 1."

No one, who has watched the movements of this Society for the past four years, but what is fully convinced of its design. "They gave up their intentions" no doubt because they had been shown what the Society was; we do not believe in the "false reports" said to have frightened two-thirds of those who had intended to have sailed in Nov., 1867. Nothing but the removal of the mask from the face of the Society will do to prevent our people from being induced to accept of the offers of the American Colonization Society.

We denounce the scheme as one of the most dangerous to be averted, and consider it only as the working out of the plan of a continual lessening of the blacks in this country until they are finally exterminated. We hope the People of the South and elsewhere, will be warned to look out for the Agents of the American Colonization Society.

THE LOUISIANA HOMESTEAD AID ASSOCIATION.

STATEMENT OF THE OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE present condition and future prospect of the loyal people of the South cannot fail to awaken the deepest interest in the minds of all true patriots.

The blighting curse of slavery, war, and subsequent political misrule, have impoverished the people and exhausted nearly every available resource.

The only wealth the South possesses, except labor, is *land*, and that is either in the hands of monopolists and speculators, or is lying waste and unbroken in the public domain.

In Louisiana, the *heart* of the Mississippi valley, once the centre of Southern commerce and civilization, this is *especially* true; her desolate and uncultivated plantations, her empty warehouses, her deserted cities and bankrupt finances, tell a mournful story, while the destitution of more than *three hundred thousand* of her people, would make a chapter unparalleled in the history of human suffering.

Without recapitulating here the causes which have led to this unhappy situation, the *manifest necessity* of the hour is, Homes for the Homeless upon the fertile lands in which the South abounds.

Enlightened labor, at the hands of her own loyal sons, and *Northern enterprise*, can alone redeem that region from the desolation to which it has been consigned, under the improvident tillage of coerced labor and a moneyed *aristocracy*.

Of *land monopolies*, always oppressive, but now fearfully productive of want and misery in the South, the following quotation, from the speech of the Hon. Geo. W. Julian, of Indiana, delivered in the House of Representatives, January 22, on "Southern Land Grants," presents most startling facts:

"In the first place, I beg leave to repeat what I said here in December, as to the great and imperative need of homes throughout these States. It is true that under the Southern Homestead law of June 21, 1866, a large belt of country is dedicated exclusively to homestead entry and settlement, all further sale of it being henceforward forbidden. But a very great proportion of this land is worthless for tillage, and failed to find purchasers prior to the war, even under the inducements supplied by the old graduation laws of Congress. It is manifestly inadequate to supply the demand of the millions in those regions for homes. Let me state a few instructive facts in support of my position. In 1850, Congress granted to the three States of Louisiana, Florida, and Arkansas twenty-six million acres of the best lands in those States, under the name of 'swamp and overflowed land,' a large proportion being dry land, and among the very best in the nation. The lands thus granted to those States were bought up in vast tracts by Jacob Thompson of Mississippi, Robert W. Johnson of Arkansas, and other leading rebels, and to-day are held as a remorseless monopoly upon which the loyal and landless poor of these States may not set their feet.

"Let me state another instructive fact—and I have it from the census tables, and from the official report of the General Land Office—namely, that in the five inland States of the South there are fifty-two million acres of land held by speculators, from which, of course, the poor are totally excluded. In point of fact, more than two-thirds of the population of those States are landless, and if you exclude their towns and cities, not more than one person in fifteen of their agricultural population is a land-holder. Fourteen-fifteenths of the people of an exclusively agricultural country, only one-tenth of which is improved, own no land, and are at the mercy of the graceless few who do own it. These are startling facts, and they invoke our early and earnest action."

Of the lands in Louisiana, 1,022,405 acres are held by railroads; 6,591,408 are held by speculators; 10,000,000 are swamp and overflowed lands.

These lands are wholly uncultivated and are held as monopolies, while in a population of 708,622 (the whole population of the State) there are 118,904 male citizens needing homesteads, and 475,616 destitute women and children, and only 10,000 landholders in the State; three-fourths of the people homeless, destitute of food and employment in a State, where climate and soil combine to render labor productive.

The only resource of the people is the *public lands*, of which there are about 3,000,000 acres, only 1,000,000 of which are susceptible of cultivation, and even these are unavailable unless the people are provided with teams, implements, supplies, etc., while the crops are growing.

"Productive operations require to be continued a certain time before their fruits are obtained. Not only is agriculture impossible without food produced in advance, but there must be a very great quantity in advance to enable any considerable community to support itself wholly by agriculture."—*John Stuart Mill's Political Economy, chapter 2.*

These Southern loyal citizens are not mendicants, soliciting at the doors of the government and an over-generous North the aid which is too often denied to those who ask. Their present condition has not been the result of any offence committed by them, nor any lack of industry; to them should have descended the rightful inheritance of freedom, the lands which, in many cases, they have redeemed from the "wilderness and made to blossom as the rose."

In view of all these facts a portion of the citizens of Louisiana have united in an association to *aid* the people of that State in securing homes, to induce immigration from other States of that class of people who desire to rescue that fair land from the utter ruin which is threatened in the complete stagnation of all industrial pursuits and commerce.

The following is an extract from a private letter, written by a citizen of Louisiana to the agent of this Association. The letter is dated "New Orleans, February 26, 1868:"

"As frequently mentioned before you left here, serious apprehensions of the future of this State under existing circumstances were entertained. Those apprehensions are vastly increased, and the future looks gloomy indeed! Thousands must perish this year in Louisiana by starvation unless *extraneous* assistance is had by bringing into requisition the dormant industry of our borders.

"It would, in my opinion, be of no permanent or substantial advantage to the masses to furnish the planters with loans. It would only be postponing the evil day to recoil with double force in the future.

"*Permanence* and *stability* to the *industrial classes* only can save us.

"The planting season is speedily passing away. In order to insure success it is indispensable that those intended to be settled in a manner to provide self-support must, at the extreme outside, be located in sixty days from this."

As will be seen by the accompanying Articles of Constitution, the Association derives a portion of its funds from the weekly payments of its members; but this is necessarily a slow process, in view of the imperative needs of the people. Among the actual expenses to be incurred by the Association are the following:

PAYABLE TO GOVERNMENT.

For 80 acres, at $1.25 per acre,	. . . .	$7.00
" 40 " at 1.00 per acre,	. . . .	5.00
" 40 " at 2.50 per acre,	. . . .	7.00

EXPENSES OF ASSOCIATION IN SELECTING AND LOCATING:

Services of Surveyor, ...	$
Aid to removal, ...	
Tools, teams, seeds, and temporary supplies,	

In some instances a portion of the expenses may be met by the small sums which provident families and persons have saved from their earnings; but in a majority of the cases, nearly the whole expense must be borne by the Association.

The tendency to land-monopoly in the South cannot be checked but by the example of independent proprietorship in the laborer. The independence and self-reliance of the laborer cannot be secured by any other means. The landholders will not inaugurate, they will discourage, the homestead policy. It is through the monopoly of the soil that they hope to subject the labor and the mental and moral status of the people to continued control and oppression. Nor can the laboring class, accustomed as they have been to the absolute control of capital in money and land, fully appreciate the practicability and necessity of proprietorship, until these shall be demonstrated by example, and the advantages brought under actual observation.

It is education in this, as in all the other rights and duties of citizens, that the masses need and require. Such education this Association proposes to furnish, and that it may be enabled to do so ere it be too late, this appeal is made to a generous and intelligent public, and we will not doubt but the responses will be such as to gladden the hearts of those in whose behalf we ask.

We want aid in money. It may be in larger or smaller sums. Let it be one or the other. We want aid in clothing, seeds, agricultural implements, tools, provisions, etc., and all things which can be made available in the work in which we are engaged. Let each give of what he hath and to such extent as his ability shall justify or his judgment dictate.

That all may give with the assurance that their donations will be faithfully applied, the following certificates as to the character and objects of the Association are submitted and confidently referred to. All of which is respectfully submitted to a generous public in behalf of the Association.

CORA L. V. DANIELS,
Special Agent of the Association.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 6, 1868.

The statements and views of Mrs. Cora L. V. Daniels, touching the condition of the freedmen of Louisiana, are worthy the attention of the people, and her personal character and knowledge of the affairs of the Louisiana Homestead Aid Association such as should command confidence and respect.

J. M. HOWARD,
CHARLES SUMNER,
S. C. POMEROY.
JAMES W. NYE,
B. F. WADE,
GEO. W. JULIAN,
J. M. EDMUNDS,
HENRY WILSON,

I cheerfully concur with the foregoing gentlemen.

O. H. HOWARD, Maj.-Gen.

THE LESSON NOT LEARNED.

THE lesson taught by our horrid war is justice to the negro. A lesson costlier in treasure, tears and blood, was never taught. And yet, it remains unlearned. The nation's murderous and life-long injustice to the negro had, but too probably, so deeply depraved her, as to leave her incapable of ever learning it. Hence, as she must either learn it or perish, she will, but too probably, perish.

Such gloomy forebodings produce, as I am well aware, little other effect than derision. Derision was the answer to the many years of faithful warning before the war. The argument, in those years, that slavery was too great a crime and too heavy an oppression to be endured much longer, and that unless speedily put away by peaceable means, it would call out violence and end in blood, was, almost universally, met with incredulity, ridicule and scorn.

The war came—but the nation would not repent of that injustice to the negro, which had provoked the war. The war had gone on for years—and not yet was the nation willing to emancipate the slave, and permit him to be armed for his own defense, and for the defence of his country. So far from it, the nation suffered her Generals to be guilty of the cruel crime and matchless meanness of returning fugitive slaves to their masters—ay, even fugitive slaves, who, at their great peril, had brought with them valuable information concerning the enemy. The returning of poor Goree from the Indiana shore of the Ohio was a stain upon our nation, which all the waters of that river cannot wash out. Then, too, since the world began, was there ever such a scene of diabolism, as that riot of 1863, when the hells of New York broke loose with fire and slaughter against men, women and children, guilty of no offence, nor even charged with any offence, save their colored skin!

The war ended—at least so far as the laying down of the enemy's arms ended it. Nevertheless, our injustice to the negro was not ended. President Johnson, unhappily, put it in the power of the old Southern masters to enact laws for sinking their freed slaves into a worse condition than that from which they had escaped. The temptation was irresistible—and they forthwith proceeded to enact the wicked laws. How sad that the cultured people of the South were not able, in spite of this temptation, which the President put in their way, to enter, at once, upon those obvious and beautiful tasks to which Providence called them! The war with its mighty changes had swept the South of all political distinctions and legal differences amongst her people. Her whites and blacks had, now, come to be equal before the laws. Now, her educated of both sexes should have proffered their services in qualifying her ignorant masses to meet the claims of their changed circumstances, and especially, to exercise intelligently and faithfully their new-born political rights. Now, was the time for these ladies and gentlemen to be found in all her school-houses and cabins, enlightening the minds, moulding the morals, softening the spirit and refining the manners of those, whom they had themselves been guilty of keeping down in a brutish condition. But, alas, instead of this, the controlling and absorbing policy of the old Southern leaders was all this time, and still is, to get the blacks again under the feet of the whites. Those foolish leaders would keep back these millions of blacks from the ballot-box. As vain is this attempt as was Mrs. Partington's to keep back with her broom the rising waters of the sea. These foolish leaders are afraid that if the negro is allowed a vote, he will wield it against them. But by a right treatment of him, they would have won both his heart and his vote. He would have voted with them:—for they, who had been so just to him as to educate and elevate him, he would feel sure would not desire to have him vote contrary to justice.

We have shown that the South has not learned the lesson of justice to the negro, which the war has taught. We proceed to show that neither has the North learned it. Such were the dissensions at the North, and so strong the sympathy of a great part of her people with the Southern or pro-slavery cause, that, had not the negro come to her help, she would have fallen before the South. And yet, so far is the North from consenting to do him justice (to say nothing of the grateful returns due to her black saviour), that she still refuses to recognize manhood under a black skin. Connecticut votes that the color of his skin disentitles the negro to the rights of manhood—to the rights which she would readily acknowledge in him, were his skin but a white one. Ohio votes likewise. So do the representatives of Pennsylvania and New York. Think of the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York submitting to the people of the State of New York the question whether the black man is a man—a man in the sense that a white man is a man—a man of rights equal to the rights of the white man! A dastardly and a dirty thing was it to submit this question. Let no manly man be guilty of accepting this insult to his common humanity by condescending to vote upon this question.

Suppose our present State Constitution were so insulting to the Irish or German element in our population, as to require of it a special qualification for voting, would the Convention that had framed a new Constitution, and kept it clear of this outrage, have submitted the question to the people whether, after all, the outrage should not be continued? Oh no! it is only the negro, whom we can thus treat. No other race do we delight to insult, degrade and torture. Truly! we have not learned the lesson taught by the war. We are still devils toward the black man.

An attempt is making to remove President Johnson from his office. But it is not his *great* offence which has led to this attempt. His *great* offence is his prominence in the conspiracy against the negro. He should have been impeached immediately after his last Annual Message to Congress. In this Message he misrepresents, defames and insults one of the races in our American population, and kindles against it the jealousy, anger and hatred of the other races. Had he fallen upon any other of our races, and wronged it but a tenth as much as he wronged this one, how quickly he would have been hurled from office! The negroes are but one-eighth of our people; and, because they are not added to by immigration, their relative numbers are continually sinking. Nevertheless, the President would frighten the other seven-eighths into the belief that the political rule of the nation is pasing into the hands of the negroes! Our blacks have ever been the oppressed; and our whites have ever been the oppressors. Our blacks have ever been a gentle, suffering, patient, forgiving and therefore Christian people; and our whites have ever been a cruel and therefore unchristian people. The religion of our oppressed blacks came from above; and the religion of our oppressive whites from beneath. And yet the President has only insults for our blacks, and only praises for our whites. He talks of "the glory of white men," and of the black man's "constant tendency to relapse into barbarism." He would rob the black man of suffrage, and have it enjoyed by the white man only. He honors the white man for having built and maintained "our political fabric"—a fabric soaked with the tears, crimsoned and cemented with the blood of the black man—a fabric, which proved to be the most stupendous piracy the world ever saw.

Yes, here in this conspiracy against the negro—against five millions of our citizens—was emphatic ground for impeaching the President. I say not that, aside from this, there was not ample ground for his impeachment—but I do say that, here, was ground a thousand-fold more ample than that on which the impeachment rests. How long would the Queen of England be allowed to wear her crown should she, in a message to Parliament, disparage, insult, vilify, and argue for the disfranchising of the Welsh or Scotch or Irish portion of her people? Not one month. Nor, after his abominable message in question, should the President have been allowed to wear his official honors a month longer. There is much worth in our Congress:—nevertheless, it has not, as a whole, grasped the great idea of the inviolable sacredness of human rights. It can see, as it ought to see, how impudent and dangerous is the claim of the President to absorb the Judiciary in the Executive. But what a trifle is this compared with his insolent denial of human rights to a considerable portion of the American people! Who authorized him to discriminate between the rights of one and the rights of another portion of that people? With all due credit to our members of Congress, nevertheless, most of them "be blind leaders of the blind:" they "strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel:" they "hold at the spigot whils it runs at the bung."

It is feared that our nation will cheat her creditors. Well may this be feared. If, after all she has done against the negro, outraging and crushing him through the whole period of her existence, and if after all he has done for her, ay, even to the saving of her, she is not yet willing to be just to him, what is there left on which to base the reasonable expectation that she will be just to her creditors? Nothing. It is said that she, heretofore, paid her debts—and, this too, whilst holding men in slavery?—the answer is that those debts were too small to tempt her to repudiate them; and that, as yet, there had been no war to teach the lesson of justice to the negro. That "cup of trembling" had not, as yet, been put into her hands. Whether our nation shall pay her debts—not, after the Pendleton style, in greenbacks—not as no one can learn how from that recent speech of Gov. Seymour, in which he so dexterously rides the two horses "Gold" and "Greenbacks"—but whether she shall pay them honestly, according to the spirit and mutual understanding of the contract, is easily answered. She will pay them honestly, provided she become just enough to do justice to the negro—otherwise not. Let our nation continue to be so debauched by the spirit of slavery, as still to deny the manhood of the negro and still to trample on his rights, and there will not be justice enough left in her to allow her to pay her debts. So far from it, she will break up again in violence and blood; and she will, then, break up FINALLY. Our nationality will be lost—but our infamous memory will live. That will live to warn the nations not to walk in our steps—to warn them not to despise nor disown any portion of our common humanity. GERRIT SMITH.

Peterboro, March 25, 1868.

CITIZENSHIP AND SUFFRAGE.

THE POWER AND DUTY OF CONGRESS TO ENFRANCHISE THE NATION.

BY DAVID PLUMB.

PART I.

WHAT IS CITIZENSHIP IN A REPUBLIC?

ROME had her citizens, her plebians, and her slaves. Not all, even of her more elevated classes, were citizens. Some held citizenship by birthright, some by heroic or beneficent deeds done in the public service, and some by purchase. Said the Roman Captain to Paul, "Art thou a Roman? He said yea. And the Chief Captain answered, with a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said; But I was freeborn."

All the ancient and modern governments of Europe had their privileged classes and their unprivileged: men who were citizens and others who were merely subjects; the one class exercising more or less control in governmental affairs, the other bearing only the burdens of the State without any voice in the creation or administration of its laws. But when our fathers established the government of the United States, they not only did not copy those European models, but utterly rejected them as radically false and unjust, and asserted in their Declaration of Rights, which they laid at the foundation of the superstructure, the direct opposite doctrine that, "Governments derive their just powers from the *consent* of the governed." This statement is not absolutely true, since a government of just laws and righteous administration would be valid and authoritative even if the governed should not consent to it, as we know the lovers of *injustice* would not, provided their formal consent was their admitted privilege and right; and without this it would not be a righteous government, indeed, philosophically considered, would be no government at all; and an unjust government would be without valid authority though ever so many consented to it. But the statement is true in the sense that the constitution, laws and administration of government, in which public justice is to be embodied and through which it is to be dispensed, are rightfully the creation of the whole people whose obedience is challenged, and who are summoned to their support, and, as we have said, could have no rightful existence were the governed denied a voice in their framing and execution; for this very denial would constitute such an injustice and oppression as to invalidate the organization so created and constitute it an usurpation, to which the people would not be bound to render allegiance, but, on the contrary, to overthrow. And this right of the people to establish and administer government, the fathers, as we have seen, fully recognized, and, in doing so, based it where they only could base it—*in the constitution and common nature of all mankind.* They said, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It was only by going to this foundation, and by asserting for "*all men*" what they claimed for *themselves*, that they could justify their own act of throwing off the authority of the mother country and the setting up a government of their own.

How then, and by what right did they, or any of them, become citizens of the government they established? Not by Colonial Charters; for the limited political rights they conferred were held by the will of the king, and these he abrogated when he pronounced the colonists rebels for the revolution they created, and by which they forfeited their lives, and how much more their franchises. Not by hereditary right; for, even if such a right could exist, the political privileges of their ancestors were held by the prerogative of the king, and his will had intervened to break the chain of political succession, so that the fathers were without predecessors, in a political sense, but were themselves the creators of the State and under the necessity of finding a new foundation for their right of government. Not by successful fighting, except as a means to an end, for their right of self-government would have been none the less complete, in itself, had they been unsuccessful, and the power that would have crushed them none the less despotic and unwarrantable. There was, then, but one remaining source from which their right could spring: they derived their citizenship from that primal source of authority to which they had appealed, in justification of the rebellion, before the fight began—the "*inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*" as equally belonging—to use their own words—to "*all men;*" "to secure which," as they declared, "governments are instituted among men, *deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.*"

Now, what was the right of one man on such a basis, was, by the most adamantine logic, the right of every other man—the right of all. And, victory once obtained, and the people set free to inaugurate their own civil and political institutions, the power to do so was *equal* and *universal*, or there was no such right existing with any. A part had no right to make the government for the others. Such an act would have been a clear usurpation of power. All being citizens by virtue of their manhood alone, and as their right of self-government sprung from the same source and was involved in their citizenship, in moving towards the business of government, all moved, in the logic of the case, together. They stood in exactly the same relations to each other and to the matter of government, as if they had been in a state of nature. This principle was too plain to the fathers to be denied in theory, and a sense of consistency forced the recognition and caused it to be written on the very portal that conducts us into the superstructure of the government. It was not only announced in the "Declaration of Independence," but the Constitution itself, opens with it and flashes its light directly into our face as we approach, in these words: "*We the people* of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, etc., and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." And nowhere in the body of the organic law are there any limitary clauses to this right of "the people" to create and administer government for themselves, so clearly recognized in its preamble.

There has been some quibbling as to the scope of the phrase, "the people." But the term is clearly comprehensive and general by all the laws of language. Having no qualifying words it must so stand and so be taken. It admits of neither a "white man's government," nor a merely *male*

government. It allows only a government of the *whole people;* and, as a historical fact, the doctrine was practically recognized in the early days of the Republic by both colored men and white women being admitted to the polls on precisely the same conditions as were white male citizens. That their number was few does not affect the position so far as the principle involved is concerned; for if but one of each class was admitted, it was a full concession that there was no natural or legal bar to the admission of all, but on the contrary, was a confession that the exclusion of any was a violation of their right and an act of usurpation.

Citizenship, then, is a birthright, and in a Republic, carries with it suffrage. The vote is not a *privilege* to be *conferred*, but a *right* to be *admitted*. It is not a franchise of the *few* or a *part*, but the *sovereign prerogative of* ALL. Where, then, did any portion of the people of any State, however large a majority it may have been, obtain the right to monopolize the elective franchise and exclude from its exercise any other portion, black or white, or however small the number of its constituents may have been? Even if the Constitution had conferred on the several States the right absolutely and exclusively to determine the qualifications of voters and to regulate the details of elections—as we shall show it did not—this would not have empowered them to disfranchise any of the people—who were equal citizens, of equal rights and powers—but they still would have been bound to conform the conditions and regulations to the law of natural right and the Constitution, neither of which, in this matter, recognizes parts and classes, but knows only the *whole people*.

But it is said that, in proving the citizenship of all, and the right of the vote as the natural right of the whole people, we prove too much, for then women and children also have the right of the ballot, for they, too, are a part of "the people." The conclusion, as to their right, is accepted, but it, by no means, proves too much. It proves what God designed; what all enlightened good men rejoice in, and what none but the ignorant, the prejudiced and the selfish despise and reject. To such it is a disagreeable conclusion, but to "this complexion must it come at last." Gravitation keeps the orbs in harmonious motion, secures the solidarity of the globe, and holds the oceans in their basins, but he who falls from the precipice, though disagreeable to his feelings, it shatters to pieces. But the law in the other case—just as certain as gravitation—though it shivers the prejudice and selfishness of the wicked, operates beneficently to the end. The philosopher goes straight to his conclusions, and all the more joyfully when he knows his pathway leads to the temple of justice wherein are enthroned stability, order and peace.

The honest inquirer will not deny a principle through fear of the logical conclusions to which he sees it inevitably tends. But here there is nothing to fear, and no contradiction. As women possess that common human nature from which spring all our inalienable rights, and as the right of self-government, involving the right of the vote, is one of those rights, it belongs to them equally as to the men; and as certainly and equally to the children as to either. If it is not the right of the child it is not the right of any as an endowment of human nature; nor, indeed, a *right* on any ground if that fail, but government becomes the prize for which factions contend, and the tool of the stronger despotism which wields it for the hour. A right inherent in the nature of man, as we have shown this right of self-government to be, must spring into being *with* that nature, and the two *co-exist*. Hence the *right* of the Vote is *born with the child*. How can just government *begin* except here and thus, since the right of its creation is not a thing to be *acquired*, but exists of natural right. Unless here and so, such government is impossible among men. This foundation excluded, the thing misnamed government that would then ensue, we repeat, could only come into being by a part, through cunning or superior force, or by both, seizing the control and dominating over the rest. But such control could stand in no *right*, but the excluded party would be equally justified in seizing and monopolizing the prize whenever they could effect, by violence or otherwise, a lodgment in the seats of power; which would be but the conflict of factions, the mad antagonism of contending ambitions and the domination of tyranny, such as have cursed the world from the creation of man.

The right of the child, then, is clear, since in this, as in other senses, "the child is father of the man." But the *exercise* of the right is quite another thing. This is not *coeval* with the right, for it is barred by the *condition* of the same nature where the right inheres. The *use*, by the person himself, of not even every *natural* right, begins with the right itself; but in some things the *exercise* must wait for the unfolding of the necessary *conditions* and *possibilities*. All persons are born with the right of marriage and possession; but they may not marry till they are qualified for the state of matrimony, nor hold and use property in their own power, till of a proper age; nor then unless they have acquired it either by their own exertions or by inheritance. If, from his birth, the child is an heir to property, his parent or guardian holds it and uses it till the proper age arrives for his taking it into his own power, but the representative of the child holds and uses for *his* benefit whose it is *in right*, and not for his own; and the right of ownership in the property is not a whit more perfect in the young man or young woman when either comes into the actual possession, than it was when he or she was an infant in its nurse's arms. In like manner the parent or guardian exercises the minor's vote for him; but in this case, as in the other, the thing represented and used is the child's and not the representative's, who holds it only as a custodian for the benefit of the other till the time of majority arrives. But when that time transpires it is his right to enter at once into the full enjoyment of the inheritance made his by the will of the Heavenly Father at the time of his birth; and none of the family, holding an equal patrimony, but having a covetous eye, or adjudging their brother incompetent to manage his estate, may *contest* the will or in any way deprive him of his birthright. To do so is moral robbery in the highest degree.

As matter of *right*, then, it is demonstrated that all are citizens of the government under which they are born, by virtue of their birth and the nature with which they come into the world; and on the same grounds, are equally vested with the right of creating and administering the laws, which they may do *en masse*, as in a pure Democracy, or by representatives, as in a Republic. Every government that practically ignores or violates this ordainment of nature and of God, by depriving any portion of its governed of their citizenship and its included vote, is in so far, if not altogether, an usurpation.

This doctrine carried into practice at the outset of our government would have given us a Republic in fact as well as in name, in which every person would have been a citizen and every citizen a Sovereign. "Righteousness would have exalted the nation," instead of its being cast down by injustice; "peace would have flowed like a river," instead of the flow of a river of blood; and prosperity and wealth would have followed in the track of our industry, instead of millions on millions of debt in the track of our war. But in place of these blessings which the establishment of a just government would have secured, the stronger and better favored portion of the people, belying their solemnly asserted principles, and disregarding the assevera tion they made when they "appealed to the Supreme judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions," seized the perogative of government in their own interests, plundered the blacks, not only of their civil and political rights, but, with here and there an exception, of their manhood also, by dooming them to chattel slavery, and gave us, in consequence, ages of agony and strife, culminating in rebellion and war.

But even this lesson, though it has revealed, has not removed, the folly of the nation. It still refuses to go to the foundations and rebuild as it should have built at the first. It still leaves the manhood of the black man but half recognized, and the political rights of womanhood it does not recognize at all. Still four millions of the colored race are disfranchised, and the prospect of their obtaining justice, in this matter of suffrage, instead of growing brighter, seems to be hourly darkening, so far as any State action in their behalf is concerned. While but few of the States have moved in the matter at all, those that have done so have declared against their enfranchisement. Connecticut, not long since,—true to the ancient negro-hating instincts, so furiously developed in the early days of the Anti-Slavery struggle when she mobbed a woman for teaching colored children and forbid such children from entering the borders of the State for the purpose of education—voted to continue the political disabilities of her colored population. Ohio has more recently supplemented her ancient "black laws" by voting in the same way; which has made the enfranchisement of the blacks, already doubtful, still more uncertain both in New York and other States where the question is to be put in issue. The treacherous and malicious policy of the President has hitherto obstructed the Congressional plan of Reconstruction in the South which put it in the power of the blacks, by the aid of their white friends in that section, to have consummated their full emancipation with the supplementary achievement of suffrage, without which their chains remain but half severed and ready to be wholly riveted again. If this continued injustice of the Northern States and the floundering of Reconstruction in the South, shall result in moving Congress to take action on the subject by the passage of a Franchise law of the whole country, thus assuming and putting into exercise the prerogative to do it which, by the principle of nationality and the powers of the Constitution, properly and primarily resides in that body, the delay and, thus far, the defeat of impartial suffrage will be matter of satisfaction rather than regret; for even though universal enfranchisement might come through the action of the States, it would involve such a recognition and strengthening the old and mischievous doctrine of State Rights, and such an abandonment of that nationality, as to make it far better, in any case, that Congress should be the dispenser of this justice.

[Part II. will be given in another number.]
—*The Radical.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1868.

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society invite its members and friends to assemble at Steinway Hall, New York, on Wednesday, May 13, at 10½ o'clock a.m., for its Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting.

It is hoped that by the day named for this meeting the government will be again in the hands of loyal men—that Treason will have been thrust from the White House and Loyalty will preside there. Then may we expect to see fitting measures adopted, not only to set up suitable political institutions in the lately rebel States, but also to establish free schools; to protect the negro, furnish him land, and guarantee to him forever his liberty and his vote; to shield the loyal white man from insult and death; to protect capital, and encourage throughout those States the enterprise, the business energy, and the industrial activity which are indispensable to their thorough and permanent reconstruction. Then, too, may we hope to see initiated those changes in the laws of Northern States which are needed for the colored race and for the peace of the Union.

All these matters have, directly or indirectly, a large influence on our cause. On such of them as directly and closely concern us, it becomes the Abolitionists to record their judgment and utter their testimony—doing all that in them lies to press these points on the conscience of the Nation, and to secure immediate attention to them; as well as to obtain for their clients—the negro race—the most complete political equality and the most absolute guaranty possible for its continuance.

We earnestly urge all friends of the Society to be present and aid in its deliberations.

[The names of speakers and other particulars will be announced hereafter.]

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *President.*

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, }
AARON M. POWELL, } *Secretaries.*

MAGNANIMITY-MAD.

"A gushing thing was the youngest Miss Pecksniff."

THE poison which slavery has left behind in the veins of this nation is an utter inability to distinguish right from wrong. We have defiled our consciences, blunted our instincts, and turned awry our logic so long, in this effort to reconcile Slavery with Justice and Christianity, that all delicate sense of personal honor in our public men, all the noble instincts that give purity and dignity to national life, are dead among us. Our leaders are morally blind. They do base things with no fit consciousness of their baseness. They stumble about amid ethical problems, seeing right and truth "like trees walking." One might fancy them life-long thieves trying to wake up and recognize the distinctions of *mine* and *thine;* like the Scottish laird whose death-bed repentance struggled to restore the farm he had stolen, but whose perverted instincts proving too strong for his new found religion, he died exclaiming "I canna do it, Jamie, I canna do it."

Take Beecher, pouring out his thousand dollars and sending his eloquence round the world in behalf of that nest of vipers and cage of unclean birds, Lee's College—deeming himself a model of magnanimity, while he is only trifling with his civil duty, exposing the deadness of his moral sense and his entire ignorance of the first principles of the faith he professes to teach. Christianity overcomes evil with good and hatred with love by winning them into its own path and making them over into its own likeness; by never quenching the smouldering flax of the slightest *right feeling;* by forgiving every offence and aiding the first *feeble step* toward *right*—not by helping evil men in evil courses. That is no *love:* it is only weak, puling sensibility. "Come, FOLLOW ME," is the law of the divinest love—not "*If you will go down to death here is a staff to help you on in the way and make you more comfortable on passage!*"

We did not expect logic in Beecher, but we might have hoped for some instinctive sense of right and wrong. We know he is only useful to play on a stringed instrument, and not at all to sit in the Sanhedrim. Still, had it not been for this wholesale poison, drunk in for three generations, this man's eyes would have been as clear-sighted as GRANVILLE SHARPE'S. The same blindness which gave money to a Tract Society that preached slavery, and fancied the gift to be proof of a catholic spirit, now turns to aid a college which is moulding cruel, bloody men into rebels and negro-haters, crying out all the while as it hurries on, "See how magnanimous I am!" It is the sentimentality of Rousseau—not the magnanimity of common sense or of the New Testament.

We might also instance Greeley, posting to Richmond to impress Jefferson Davis with a sense of his magnanimity. But that is irrelevant. Men looked at Beecher with wondering pity: Greeley's act caused no surprise. One cannot charge slavery with poisoning Mr. Greeley. The man who fancied himself an Abolitionist while his life was only an echo of Henry Clay, must have the excuse Benton made for Cushing, "nature, in making him up, omitted a moral sense." Whether the defect was thus, indeed, congenital, or the result of long habit in prostituting conscience to party, it is useless to inquire, because impossible to determine, at this late day.

The last sample of this mush of magnanimity is the Senate admitting all of the President's idle tattle, to show how extra fair they can be. These Senators forget that they are not set there to exhibit their own virtues, but to try a great criminal. The record of this trial is to be spread before the people. The judgment they shall form of it is of great importance. If the record be full of irrelevant matter, and the reader is, from lack of legal training, unable to distinguish what is properly evidence and what is not, it is inevitable that the popular verdict should be misled and mistaken—a great evil in present circumstances. Beside, every hour wasted in unnecessary prolonging of the trial is fruitful of danger. The Republican party has, for party reasons, delayed this trial more than a year. That year has planted seeds of sectional quarrel and race-hatred which it may take a generation to root out. These two wasted years are not washed out by Impeachment. It may take ten years to correct the evils they have caused.

Besides, every day of these two years has been marked by a Union murder. The cruel desertion by this nation of its Southern friends is one of the foulest blots on our history. No soldier of Grant's level, in any age or land, would have consented to have been, as he has been, a political tool, to sit and see those he was set to protect murdered in his sight; formal reports made of these murders and nothing done except to file them. No nation but one like ours, poisoned by slavery, could have persevered in its admiration of such a man, so recreant to duty, at the bidding of so base a motive.

We consider the Senate's course in this matter, as weak pandering to this sickly magnanimity-mania. Our people are snobbishly and foolishly sentimental in treating a well-to-do, socially reputable man—Lee, Davis, Johnson, Beecher, Saulsbury, McDougal, Grant, Forrest and the chivalrous murderers of Union men; but none so fiercely virtuous as we over a friendless negro, a hated Irishman, a Wirz, etc., his comrades. The Senate should have rebuked this national sentimentality. It should have given us a wholesome relish for *justice*—equal, exact, impartial fair-play—no matter who is on trial; no leniency toward the great; no dread of awaking public sympathy for crime by treating it with exact justice.

We thank Gen. Butler for his reference to these Southern murders in his earnest and admirable plea against delay. We assure him that, whatever "gushing things" in Senatorial chairs may say, the country thanks him for that manly protest against this blood-guiltiness. Indeed, without reflecting on any other Manager, since all have done and will do their duty, the nation, up to this hour, thanks Gen. Butler for the success of the Impeachment. His vigor, skill, tireless energy, unequalled ability, have carried it on. After standing that one immortal hour in the breathless Senate chamber, and seeing the four ablest lawyers Johnson could summon entirely cowed, disconcerted, appalled, *silenced* by his skill,—sitting in mute bewilderment,—he needs no words of praise. That scene, unparalleled in judicial annals, must be testimony enough to his ability. We can assure him that the loyal millions enjoyed his triumph, deemed it only his due, and thanked him most cordially that such skill was used on the right side. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE proposed Constitutional Amendment to abolish the property qualification for colored voters in this State is to be separately submitted, and will therefore need most energetic support from the friends of the proposition, colored and white, to insure its success. The colored men of the State should at once organize themselves thoroughly for a vigorous campaign, to send out competent speakers to address the people, and to prepare and distribute printed appeals, etc. If colored men now show themselves in earnest, and determined to gain equal enfranchisement in the contest it will go far toward achieving victory. Nothing short of unwonted vigilance on their part, and on the part of their friends, can suffice to win a triumph.

THE struggle for liberty among the Cretans goes bravely on. Recent dispatches announce encouraging success on the part of the Cretans, and indicate that they will ultimately conquer their Turkish oppressors. A very successful Fair in aid of the heroic struggle has just been held in Boston. It closed on Saturday last with an address by Mr. Phillips.

DR. S. G. HOWE has prepared a very interesting statement, giving an account of the Cretan Refugees, and addressed to the American contributors for the Cretan Relief. It has been published in a neatly-printed sixty-four page pamphlet by Messrs. Lee and Shepard, of Boston. It needs only to be circulated to awaken a lively interest in, and a warm sympathy with, the cause of the heroic Cretans.

We publish elsewhere an appeal for "Relief for the Cretan wounded," made by Mr. Hilary Skinner. Mr. Skinner may be fully confided in. He was several months with the insurgents, and afterward wrote a work on Crete, which has attracted much notice in England, and will doubtless shortly be published in this country. We hope abundant and generous contributions may be sent by the freedom-loving people of this country in response to his appeal. Such contributions made now will be most grateful and timely aid to those who have shown by their heroic struggles and great sufferings their sincere devotion to the cause of liberty in the complete triumph of which we are all alike interested.

THE evidence in the impeachment trial having all been disposed of and the case adjourned for two days, Mr. Boutwell will to-day (Wednesday) make the opening speech for the Managers, to be followed by Mr. Curtis and Mr. Groesbeck for the President, and by Mr. Bingham, who will give the closing argument. The trial therefore nears its end. We shall hope in the next issue of THE STANDARD, or at any rate the week following, to be able to chronicle the deposition of Andrew Johnson from the office of President, and the inauguration of Benjamin F. Wade therein. The eyes of an expectant, victorious nation will be upon Senators. Let none falter in the plain and unmistakable duty of pronouncing for the removal of the Executive tyrant and usurper.

WE publish elsewhere a letter from the Hon. Gerrit Smith, in which he presents his views of the proper method of dealing with the contumacious whites of the South. We do not question the sincerity and excellence of his motive, but the wisdom and feasibility of his plan we doubt. If all the "millions" he would bespeak were given by the people of the North to those whites of the South, who were and are the representatives of the "lost cause," we do not imagine their mood would be rendered any more "loving" thereby, nor that their disposition to deal justly by the blacks would be in anywise improved. Money given to the still rebellious, aristocratic Southern whites, such as are represented by Lee's college, for their exclusive appropriation and use, is, in effect, what continued indulgence is to a pampered and "spoiled" child. It renders a bad condition still worse—is a cruel kindness. We do not learn that the temper of the young scions of treason who are under Lee's training and the piratical professorship of Maury, has at all improved in consequence of the ill-judged and really mischievous efforts in behalf of the college which have been made in the North by Messrs. Smith, Beecher, and others. Nor do we believe the "peace" of the country would have been at all promoted had the Republican party followed the lead of Messrs. Greeley and Smith in the matter of bailing Jefferson Davis. The pathway to peace has been obstructed by so much as there has been indulgence to the rebellious Southern whites by Mr. Johnson, or concession, whatever the motive, by Republicans of the Greeley and "conservative" type. Next to the deliberate and criminal betrayal of the North by Andrew Johnson, we think nothing has done more to reassure the old ruling white class of the South, and to encourage their murderous hate and mulish obstinacy, than the gratuitous folly of Messrs. Greeley and Smith in hastening to Richmond to sign the bail bond of Davis, and Mr. Smith's and Mr. Beecher's whitewashing of and apologizing for Lee. It is a confounding of moral distinctions, and therefore necessarily fruitful in evil results. To designate Davis' imprisonment, in an elegant, luxurious retirement, as "cruel," and to journey hundreds of miles to become his bail; to speak of his right-hand confederate, Lee, as noble-hearted, honest-minded, wise, discreet and gentlemanly, in the presence and with the memory of Andersonville, Libby and Fort Pillow, is, in Mr. Smith's case, unwittingly to do violence to the spirit of love, to temper mercy with injustice, and to pull down with one hand what he seeks to build up with the other. Mr. Smith is not a non-resistant, but recognizes the wisdom of administering the bitter pill of coercion in the matter of suffrage for the negro. The time has gone by to longer speak of or deal with the Southern whites as "the South." The South of the present and the future must mean the whole of its people. If the government of the United States has any function to perform towards the Southerners, it is to establish and maintain a democratic equality among them, forbidding the class and caste distinctions to which the representatives of the "chivalry" are prone. Justice impartially and firmly applied, in nowise discriminating in favor of the aristocratically inclined whites, tempered with mercy, will in due time bring peace. Nothing else will.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, our readers in this city, and many who will be in attendance upon the Annual Meeting, will be glad to learn, has received and accepted an invitation to deliver his lecture upon "DANIEL O'CONNELL," in the Academy of Music in this city, on Tuesday evening, May 12.

PERSONAL.

A son of Robert Morris, the colored lawyer of Boston, will graduate this summer at the college of St. Sulpice, Montpelier, France.

Sallie Holley will deliver a lecture in the Baptist Church at West Walworth, Wayne Co., N. Y., at 3 p. m. on Sunday, April 26.

Mrs. Jane Crane, of Topeka, Kansas, in a recent election received one hundred and thirty votes as a candidate for School Director; and in one ward forty-four women voted for the Board of Education.

Mr. William J. Linton, the well-known English artist, will hereafter have charge of the illustrations for the *Galaxy*. Mr. Linton, we are glad to learn, has also accepted the appointment of general superintendent of the Cooper Institute School of Design.

Ralph Waldo Emerson gave the first of a course of three lectures in the Packer Institute, Brooklyn, on Wednesday evening last. His subject was, "Eloquence." This (Wednesday) evening he will give the second lecture. Subject: "Man of the World." He will conclude the series on Saturday evening next, when his subject will be "The Relation of Intellect to Morals."

The *Commonwealth* says: "The humbug character of Sergeant Bates' flag-carrying through the South is shown by the character of the men who welcomed him to Washington—Andy Johnson, Senator Doolittle, Representatives Eldridge of Wis., and Mungen of Ohio, Mayor Wallach, etc. An ex-rebel officer was principal master of ceremonies. Poor old Mungen of Ohio seriously announced in his speech his belief that Wendell Phillips was 'a greater traitor than Jeff. Davis or any other man!'"

A Natick (Mass.) correspondent writes: "Mrs. E. D. Rockwood and Miss Olympia Brown addressed an attentive and appreciative audience in the First M. E. Church in Natick, Mass., on Tuesday, the 14th inst., in favor of universal suffrage and the adoption of other measures hardly less important. The lecturers seemed thoroughly imbued with the spirit of their subject, and handled it with an earnestness and ability seldom equalled. At the close of the meeting the pastor (Rev. W. G. Leonard) and wife came forward and heartily endorsed the remarks that had been made."

Mrs. Frances Anne Kemble read "King Henry the Fifth," as the opening of her third course of Shakspearian Readings, to a large and thoroughly delighted audience at Steinway Hall, on Tuesday evening last. This (Wednesday) afternoon she will read "Twelfth Night;" on Friday evening, April 24, "Much Ado About Nothing;" and on Saturday afternoon at 2 o'clock, April 25, "Romeo and Juliet." This will probably be the last opportunity the present season, and it is one which all who can should improve, to listen to the greatest of Shakspeare's interpreters.

Mrs. Ella Davis Rockwood, of Boston, delivered the address before the State Templar Convention of Connecticut, on Fast Day evening, April 10. Delegates were present from all parts of the State.

Mrs. Rockwood, we notice, recently gave her lyceum lecture, entitled "Young America," in Natick, the home of her early childhood, to a large and appreciative audience. Though her lyceum lecturing season is nearly over, Mrs. R. has, we learn, engaged to speak for Temperance five evenings each week for the ensuing five months. We are glad that so good and urgent a cause can have the benefit of her earnest and eloquent voice.

The Boston *Commonwealth* says: "Mrs. Cora L. V. Daniels, lately from New Orleans, gave a graphic and faithful account of the depressed condition of the loyalists of Louisiana, at the Tremont Temple, on Wednesday evening. They have suffered every indignity and outrage, and are now without money, lands or implements of husbandry. A Homestead Aid Society has been organized, and something is being attempted to relieve the wide-spread destitution. It was a sad picture that Mrs. Daniels unfolded, but not incapable of a warm lighting up under the administration of a true man like Sen. Wade. Mrs. D. is doing a noble work in caring for this oppressed people. Money, agricultural implements, etc., may be sent to Mr. Wallcut, Freedmen's Rooms, 8 Studio Building. Mrs. D. has the indorsement of Senators Sumner, Howard, and others."

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, April 15, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I SEE in your and other newspapers, and also in letters which I receive, complaints of my giving money to a college in Virginia. Men who stand very high in my esteem, join in these complaints.

Although my own heart does not abound in love, I, nevertheless, seem to rely more than do most persons on the power of love to remove the wrongs and quiet the troubles of life—of public as well as of private life.

The South surrendered; but she still hated the North. *My* plan of getting this hatred out of her heart was for the North to love it out. Hence, my proposition for giving the South a large sum of money—say fifty or a hundred millions of dollars—to help her up out of the ruin which the sin of oppression, common to herself and the North, had brought upon her. Such and other naturally-accompanying expressions of love and pity would have palsied and purged out her hatred. But so it was that my plan for this love-conquest did not meet with much favor.

I was glad to be bail for Jefferson Davis—not merely nor mainly from regard to him, whose long imprisonment without a trial was so cruel and so utterly indefensible; but also to show my good-feeling toward the South, and to do in this wise what little I could toward bringing the North and South together. But the Republican party denounced the bailing of Jefferson Davis, and, in so doing, flung away a golden opportunity for strengthening itself, and for giving peace to the country.

A few weeks ago, I was asked to help a college in Virginia. It is true that I had, from the time the South laid down her arms, been doing what I could for some of her white families whom the war had impoverished. But, whilst I had been giving thousands to promote the education of her blacks, I had given nothing to her white schools. Now, however, I had an opportunity to give to one of them—to the one, moreover, which was founded by the "Father of his Country." I confess that I was glad to improve the opportunity, and that I was sorry I could not make a ten-fold greater gift.

You think that "Washington College" hates the North. Perhaps it does. But should the North endow it, there would be hardly a possibility for it to continue to hate her.

You think that this college will not soon receive black pupils. It will, however, receive them all the sooner if we who are happily clean of this detestable and shrivelling caste-spirit shall bear ourselves generously toward the college. We should be very patient, at this point, with Southern colleges—especially so, since a large share of our Northern colleges are (and with infinitely less excuse) so much like them in this respect.

One of your strongest objections to helping this college is that Gen. Lee is its President. Since none but a man of Southern views could have the place, I am not sorry that Gen. Lee has it. In spite of his having gone to the side of our enemy, there is, nevertheless, much in his conduct and history to command our respect. His letter to his friend, in which he showed how long and painfully his mind balanced between the claims of his State and his nation to his allegiance, was not dishonorable to him. Wrong as was his conclusion, it was, nevertheless, one that an honest heart and noble mind might come to. His modest, quiet and discreet bearing since he gave up his sword to the stronger, but not braver party, goes to prove how richly he deserved the reputation which he enjoyed before the war—the reputation of being a wise man and a gentleman. I argue, from what I know of Gen. Lee, that he "accepts the situation;" that he is disposed to fall in with the progress of ideas; and that he may yet find himself to be even an Abolitionist.

The North is requiring the South to recognize the equality before the laws of her whites and blacks—their entire equality in civil and political rights. I own that it is for the salvation of the South that she swallow this pill—ay, for the salvation of the nation. Nevertheless, in the light of her history and habits, we cannot wonder that she deems it to be a very bitter one. Surely, surely, the North should eagerly avail herself of every opportunity to express good-feeling toward the South, if it be only that she may thereby be sugar-coating and sugar-coating and sugar-coating their bitter pill—their pill which is so exceedingly bitter, that even the North is too little imbued with the spirit of human brotherhood to be able to swallow it.

Your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 21th, 1868.

A PAUSE in the impeachment trial enables one to look around at other matters, which have been lost sight of in the great interest excited thereby. Entering the closing scenes, where brain and tongue are to work and plead, eloquently doubtless, truthfully we are sure in the case of Messrs. Boutwell and Bingham, both for and against the PEOPLE, outraged so often and patient so long, it is fitting perhaps that we who criticized so unflinchingly, should refrain until the result. Only reiterating what has been said before, I repeat that no one here really seems to doubt the final result. Many claim that every Republican Senator will vote on some count for conviction. Not more than from fifteen to twenty votes will be cast affirmatively on the last three articles. In fact that is doubtful on the ninth. On the first three counts there will be from 38 to 42 votes cast—probably on one or more, the latter number. On the other five articles a two-thirds vote is not assuredly counted on. With these prognostications I leave it for this time.

The Southern States are at last fairly emerging from the woods. One State, Arkansas, has carried the Constitution and State officers by a very small majority. The official report makes it less than 1,700. The Constitution is a pretty good one, and if the men who are to run the State were as good, we might be satisfied. Like the other unrepresented States, Arkansas provides for equal school privileges—though not prohibiting the organization of schools on a color basis. An homestead, mechanics' lien, equal system of taxation, are all included. On the questions of equal political rights for *males* there is no dodging. But Arkansas will always be doubtful, unless the new administration shall be very wisely managed. There are two or three colored men elected to the State Legislature.

South Carolina has just ratified the Constitution and elected a set of State officers. Gen. Scott, the newly elected Governor, bears an excellent reputation for ability and radical convictions. J. S. Cardoza, elected Secretary of State, is a colored man of fine presence, high character and complete education. He is a graduate of the Glasgow (Scotland) University. Quite a large number of colored men are in the Legislature. The election developed the fact that there is a determined organization among the whites not to submit to the Congressional plans and its results. The Constitution contains no disfranchising clauses, gives equal schools and taxation, homestead exemption and a mechanic lien. It is one of the best yet made, though there are evidences in it of the old formal and pompous spirit of the oligarchy. They are, however, on non-essentials.

North Carolina is now voting. A majority of from 25,000 to 30,000 is expected. About 65,000 colored and 25,000 white votes are expected for the Constitution and about 60,000 against it. Harris, Galloway, O'Hara and several other able colored men will be in the State Legislature.

Louisiana is doubtful, though it is expected that the Constitution is ratified. Mississippi will not vote until the middle of May. This State has, I think, the best Constitution of all. Florida has the worst. The "Land of Flowers" seems to be cursed with a corrupt set of Northern adventurers in both factions, who ought to be kicked out. This is in a large degree true of both sides—for there are two Republican factions there—but probably the Richards-Billings affair is the worst. The most shameless thing in the corrupt mismanagement is in the appointing power conferred by the Constitution about to be ratified. It provides for about 500 offices, including the Legislature and excluding the Constables. Of this number—State and County offices—this so-called Republican instrument provides for the election of *two* by the people, *besides* the Legislature. These two are the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. They serve *four* years. The Governor and Senate fill the balance. You may be sure that the Governor elect will be sent to the United States Senate. His place will be filled by the Lieutenant-Governor, who, after drawing pay for about two years and a half, can by judicious use of patronage elect himself to the Senate also. That will be at the termination of one of the Senator's term (now to be elected).

The Virginia Constitution is not a good one. It outstrips the Congressional plan in disfranchisement, and administers the iron-clad test oath to petty officials of a town. Texas has done nothing beyond electing a Convention. Alabama awaits the fiat of Trumbull & Co., with great impatience.

Throughout the South violence is rampant, and our military officers anticipate trouble. They want the States in so that a militia force can be organized if necessary. But each State will succeed, and before midsummer will be represented in Congress.

The Southern Republicans will come here and will attend at Chicago, pledged and determined to secure an endorsement of the principle of a uniform and national impartial suffrage law and platform. We shall see in their delegations at Chicago such able men of color as J. H. Harris, N. C.; James M. Lynch, Miss.; John Gray, Ark.; Mayor Dumas and others, La.; Cardoza, Randolph, Robert Small and Delarge of S. C.; Berry, of Ala.; Saunders, Fla.; Turner and Costin, Ga., and others. They are the men who will carry the South, and their voice *must* be regarded. ASMODEUS.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, April 19th, 1868.

THERE has been a strike here of the Irish laborers employed in the freight-houses of the Boston and Albany Railroad. Some time ago their wages were cut down by the Company from $1.75 to $1.50 a day. They worked at the later rate a month, and then demanded a return to the former. The Company thereupon discharged the whole of them, (a hundred or so in number), and engaged colored people to do the work of loading and unloading the cars, paying them $1.60 a day, and engaging, it is understood, to give them permanent work.

A good many things that happen nowadays are suited to remind you of the judge who—when the counsel for the government flew into a passion, and poured out a torrent of profane and abusive language—said to the prisoner's counsel, "If you don't stop provoking Squire Jones, and making him swear so, I shall commit you for contempt of court."

The papers of late have been highly indignant at a recent article by Horace Greeley in the *Tribune*, entitled "Governor Seymour as a Liar." What shocking language! they said. What a gross violation of the proprieties, the decencies, the amenities of life! What degradation to the profession of journalism! What an approbrium to civilization!

There are always plenty of people extant, men as well as women, of such delicate sensibilities that they cannot bear the utterance of plain truth. They actually think it better that vice and crime should go on, flourish, succeed, increase, *quietly*, rather than that any stir or turmoil should be caused by that exposure which is an indispensable preliminary to their suppression. The papers which complain thus of Mr. Greeley do not attempt to controvert the facts that Governor Seymour *is* a liar; that he is habitually and systematically so; and that he is engaged in an immense diffusion of falsehood by means of the press, to the great detriment of the people of the United States. All this was definitely set forth and proved in the article that made the charge. But these facts, it appears, go for nothing in the view of the complainants. They think, apparently, either that Gov. Seymour's lies are all told in an elegant and gentlemanlike manner, and so are unobjectionable, or that even if couched in language as harsh as any that Mr. Greeley uses, it is in favor of the other side, and thus praiseworthy rather than blamable. At any rate, these delicate critics make no complaint of the lies, only of the fact that public attention is called to them *as* lies.

The diffusion of false sentiments in regard to the present political and social state of this country is so wide-spread, and so persistent, on the part of the advocates of slavery and the rebellion, that it is absolutely necessary to point out these falsehoods, (and in certain cases their manufacturers and disseminators) to public reprobation. The foreign correspondent of a copperhead paper boasts that, to inquiries made of him abroad about the freedmen, he replied, "that the American negro was no longer a wretched, starving being, but that he was an ornament to society, and considered so much superior to the white man that we have put the whole political power of the country into his hands." If the people to whom such statements are made should see any of our "Democratic" papers, they would find lies like the above not only repeated there, and gravely insisted on as truth, but made the basis of a system of party operations; made the pretence for an assumed necessity of violating the first principles of genuine democracy, and denying to the negro the rights of citizenship. And must the plain exposure of this gigantic system of falsehood, and the designation of one supereminent liar among those who support it, be imputed to us as offences?

The same sort of bastard refinement—an allowance of enormous actual evil, because accuracy in the descriptive warning of its vicious character would be an indecency—is made by the conductors of the press a bar to all public exposure of the objectionable features and pernicious influence of the ballet, as now performed at all the fashionable theatres. It would be indecent to *describe* what the favorite performers actually *do;* therefore (admirable reasoning!) no objection is to be raised to the continuance of their corrupting exhibitions! The police lay hold of Fagin as soon as he is known to be teaching boys the art of picking pockets. The editorial fraternity ought to be a moral police to their places of residence, at least so far as to utter a loud and clear protest against open immorality, sending forth a warning voice, in response to which good men and women might take the sort of action needful. If the vice has already become popular and fashionable, all the more urgent is the need of leadership against it. But our editors, who make money by advertising the exhibitions in question, not only bar out from their columns all adequate exposure of their evil character, but praise the gracefulness of the exhibition as its most important characteristic, thus actually assisting a source of depravation among the youth of the community as far exceeding that which Fagin taught, both in quality and amount, as purity of eye and mind exceeds the worth of pocket-handkerchiefs and purses.

On the 7th instant, Lucy Stone, Rev. Mrs. Hansford, and Rev. Olympia Brown made addresses before the Judiciary Committee, at the State House, in support of various petitions asking for the suffrage for women; and Mrs. Stone spoke again in the same place on Wednesday of last week. The audience-room was crowded in both cases, and would have been had the Representatives' Hall been assigned for the hearing. All these addresses were able and forcible, and compelled the assent of those who heard them. Even those reporters who declared the arguments not to be new were obliged to admit that they were deeply interesting and convincing. The feeling is gaining ground that the success of the women's cause is only a question of time. By-and-by the civilized world will wonder at its own tardiness in accepting truths so obvious. It is no small sign of progress when a "religious" newspaper frankly admits the right of women to vote, though it would confine their exercise of this function to church-meetings and church matters. This wonder, however, has actually occurred, and in no long time female church-members will begin to inquire why that should not be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet—"Your sons *and your daughters* shall *prophesy*."

Indeed, the public speaking of women is getting to be not uncommon here. Mrs. Cora L. V. Daniels gave an address at Tremont Temple one evening last week, setting forth the sad condition of the freedmen in Louisiana, her account of which agrees with the most trustworthy statements which we have from other sources. Mrs. Daniels is a pleasing and persuasive speaker, the same, I believe, whose powers have been largely devoted to the advocacy of Spiritualism.

NORTH.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, April 20, 1868.

ON Thursday evening last Frederick Douglass gave us the opportunity of hearing his rare lecture on the subject of "Self-Made Men." A large audience attended. The speaker was introduced by Robert Purvis, who thrilled his hearers by the brilliancy of his brief address, which was characterized by his usual polished manner and fervid eloquence. Mr. Purvis is always felicitous with his introductions, and his glowing words are invariably cherished.

People delight to listen to Mr. Douglass. Many heard him on this occasion to whose ears his voice was unfamiliar, for it was a marked circumstance that the audience was largely comprised of people whose faces were new among the accustomed attendants at Concert Hall, when radicals like Douglass speak. But the enthusiasm was the same as ever, and the applause was frequent and zealous.

The address was a noble and eloquent one, pervaded by richness of thought and manly sentiment; abounding in wisdom and wit; seasoned by a pleasing diffusion of choice bits of sarcasm, and presented with that power of utterance and soul-stirring vigor for which the orator is distinguished. Many interesting facts were interspersed, and the few incidents of personal narrative that were introduced, showing how the speaker acquired the rudiments of education, contributed to the entertainment.

It would be impossible for Mr. Douglass to deliver a lecture, no matter what title he might give it, without checkering it with thoughts and views pertaining to the great subject nearest his heart, and which has monopolized the service and devotion of his life. On this occasion the welfare of the black man was not forgotten. His claims were enforced with zealous heed and earnest enthusiasm, and the rights that belong to him as a citizen and a man were warmly advocated. What he claims primarily for the negro is fair-play. He would have all hindrances and obstructions that beset him swept aside. He desired that no barriers be placed in his pathway, whether it lead to the school, to the college, or to the ballot-box. He forcibly entreated that he be let alone, and be given a fair chance in life.

Mr. Douglass intimates that he is bound for Congress. He thinks that if he can endure Congress, Congress ought to be able to endure him. Praise for his ambition! May the day come when we shall be able to chronicle his election to the national legislature! Why do not the people of his district send him there? They could do nothing that would give them more credit and honor. Such an event would go far towards conquering the hateful prejudice existing throughout our land against the negro. Were that accomplished, people would grow wiser, and suffer to vanish the stupid repugnance that chills their souls, changing this for a generous toleration, and a willingness to recognize the benignant spirit of a common brotherhood. When two colored men were elected to the Massachusetts Legislature, there was much ado about it throughout the land, much scorn expended, and a great amount of indignation vented; but in a little while all comment ceased. The repetition of such an occurrence would not again fill men's minds with horror. They will become accustomed to it, and perceive the folly of ridicule and reproach.

The negro needs that his race be represented in Congress. Frederick Douglass should be there now. So should Robert Purvis and John M. Langston. The American nation ought to be proud to honor such men as these as members of the national councils. Let a colored man be sent to Congress, and instantly the whole race would be thrilled with joy and pride. They would be lifted to a new level of confidence and self-respect, and command a higher and more sincere regard from others. The disabilities that encumber them would be more readily and more speedily dispelled, and with better assurance they might hope to realize their yearning, and advance to the enjoyment of all the advantages, rights and privileges of citizenship.

Let Frederick Douglass continue to aspire after a seat in Congress, and may he reach that goal! W.

Our Richmond Correspondence.

RICHMOND, Va., April 13, 1868.

THE freedmen of Richmond and vicinity celebrated the Third Anniversary of the evacuation of this city by Gen. Lee, on the 3d inst., with a larger number of people than ever before turned out here for the same purpose. There were from four to five thousand people in the public square. At one o'clock p.m. the procession, comprising the various societies, and other persons, led by the mounted guard (colored), marched through the various streets to the Governor's house, where addresses were made by Col. Lewis, his Excellency's aid, Mr. Platt, of the Convention, and John Oliver. As yet the Richmond papers have not spoken of this event, though the reporters were all present. Much has been done to intimidate and to prevent this celebration, but the harder the pressure the more determined are the loyal people to make this a fixed anniversary hereafter. And why should they not? The Emancipation Proclamation was issued by Mr. Lincoln, January 1, 1863, but no colored man this side the lines of the two armies, dared to whisper that he knew or had ever heard of his coming freedom by such a method. If he had, it would have cost him his life; and it was not until the fall of Richmond, April 3d, 1865, two years after the proclamation, that the colored people received their freedom; hence their determination to make it a holiday. But it is considered on the part of the whites as being very humiliating to be compelled to witness the celebration of the downfall of the "lost cause" by the blacks, and they construe it as an intended insult.

There is a good deal of excitement in the city, growing out of a discussion of the question of mixed schools. The whites say about this, as they did about negro suffrage—they swear that they will go into the last ditch before their children shall go to the same schools with these black *sans culottes*. Some time ago Mr. J. W. Hunnicutt published the following editorial in his paper, the *New Nation*, and advocated the spirit of the article in an hour's speech:

"MIXED SCHOOLS.—Are the white and colored children all to go to the same schools and be mixed up together? This question is often asked. We answer, that we have never advocated anything of the kind. The colored people do not want it. There is no necessity for it, and no good could result from it. All we want is, for the same provisions to be made for the education of colored children as are made for the education of white children. So they are educated, this is all we ask."

John Oliver, on seeing the above, spoke of it as an attempt to win political favor over the miseries of the people, and said that it would be time enough to raise that question when the people came to it in the organization of the schools. But now, since the question was under consideration, he hoped the Convention would make it an indictable offence for any teacher or school committee to turn away any child from the public schools after they were organized because of color. In the first place, he said, the State was too poor to maintain two sets of schools, and in the second place, to have black and white schools would be fostering and aiding people to keep alive prejudice of race; an evil which we should do nothing to strengthen, but eradicate it as soon as possible. This discussion worked its way into the Convention, and occupied a portion of two days. But a resolution declaring that all children should go to the same schools was lost, most of the white Republicans considering its passage impolitic.

On the 7th inst. we inaugurated a new Governor, by order of Gen. J. M. Schofield. Gen. H. H. Wells, of Alexandria, Va., is now Governor of this State until he or his successor shall be elected by the people. Much pressure and not a little bitterness have been brought to bear against Gov. Pierpoint of late, from two different quarters. Against those combined influences he has not been able to stand. A large number of loyal or Union men charge that in the very beginning of his term of office, he gave the places in his gift to rebels and kept the patronage and power of the State in their hands, when he should have given it to Union men. The other point of dissatisfaction, which comes from an entirely different quarter, is, it is said, that his Excellency has exercised too freely his prerogative and pardoned too many colored convicts from the penitentiary. This, however, we are confident is fallacious. The courts here, whenever they have seen a colored offender of the law at their bar, acted toward him in the temper and spirit of barbarism, being then he was already pre-judged and condemned, and all the courts have had to do was to say so. Gov. Pierpoint gave to such of these cases as were brought to him, praying the exercise of his clemency, careful consideration, and if found worthy he acted accordingly. He knew the bitterness of defeat, outrage, passion and hate of race generated by the war, had been on all occasions emitted in violent decoction upon the black man; from every court in the State whose judges were often to the manor born and appointed under the regime of Slavery, and some interposing influence was as necessary as the claims of humanity are just and he was moved by its demands.

But, turning from those conjectures, there is another point involved which the movement leaves open to our view. That Gov. Pierpoint is both loyal and efficient, none, we think, will attempt to dispute. That he has energetically urged the people of the State to a speedy reconstruction of the State, on the reconstruction principles laid down by Congress, is now a matter of record. His public speeches everywhere show that he has tried to unite the already divided factions of the Republican party, and harmonize it to the new order of things. He did not hesitate to say that the baleful conduct of the so-called Christian churches of the State, was a barrier in the way of a full development of freedom in the State by its perpetual effort to strangle free discussion. Why, then, does the Commanding General of the first military district remove a man from the gubernatorial chair, a Republican of undisputed loyalty in the progressive loyal and dominant party of the State, and appoint another loyal man; but one who has no record as ever having worked with that party? This done, too, when public opinion had vied in the opinion of the Court of Appeals, that the Governor holds over until his successor is elected by the people. The explanation may be found in the record that there are a large number of offenders who have shot, beat and burned, in some cases, the backs of negro girls, who have not and never will be brought to their deserved punishment under the present regime.

This movement, however, excites no surprise in the mind of the writer. Our district commander's otherwise brilliant military record in Missouri is marred all over with the principles of the party to which it is said he belongs. And if now, in more peaceful times, he shall seek to engraft those principles into the concomitant elements he has the power to shape, no radical Republican should expect any other result. In conclusion, it is claimed by those about the Custom-House, who ought to know something about the in-door phase of this question, that the new appointee will give shape to the Republican party here, and drift it out of its present confused condition into a more healthy activity. We hope this may be true. The Constitutional Convention will adjourn this week, leaving to anxious Republicans the work of getting the Constitution adopted by the people.

J. M. Langston, Esq., has just left here for Norfolk, Va., on his tour of inspection of schools. He made two very fine addresses here. AVON.

A VOICE FROM AMONG THE PEOPLE.

To the Editor of the Standard:

WHEN the House resolved to impeach Johnson, and the Senate seemed ready to enter upon its work, which, if virtuously done, would stop the desolating doings of the country's arch enemy, there was apparent cause for a feeling of relief, to be indulged by the friends of human freedom, which has not before been vouchsafed them since the war began. It looked as if Congress had become convinced it had seriously erred, in not impeaching and displacing the usurper long ago; and that it was eager now for an opportunity to seize upon, that if possible it might retrieve itself as to its grievous delinquencies in this momentous matter. Plainly it was so with the House. Probably it was so in the convictions of the Senate. But the Senate is not elected by direct vote of the people. It is further out of reach of the people, and as much more within reach of the politicians.

A cloud has come over the prospect, in the movements of Salmon P. Chase. Salmon P. Chase has always been a politician; and now he appears bent on "following in the footsteps" of those "illustrious predecessors," Daniel Webster and William H. Seward Webster and Seward, in their inordinate desire for the Presidency, sold themselves to conspirators, who first repudiated, and then despised and abandoned them to their wallowing in their degradation, their ignominy, their infamy. It begins to look now that Chase may yet make himself more infamous than either of these self-sacrificed victims to bad ambition. If he descends, it will be from a greater height than either of them had attained to, and with less to invite or justify him. To sell to sympathizers with the "lost cause," at this juncture, would be immeasurably a baser act than to have confederated with the original conspirators. By as much as Andrew Johnson is, and will be in history, a more despicable man than John C. Calhoun or Jefferson Davis, by so much will Salmon P. Chase be a more despicable man than Daniel Webster or William H. Seward, if he joins with Johnson against Congress in these proceedings—proceedings to prevent loss of all that was gained, and more than all that was gained, by squandering mountains of treasure and rivers of blood.

It is not enough to have brains. It is not enough to have intellectual discipline. It is not enough to have, with these, moral convictions. Daniel Webster and William H. Seward had all these. They had (*had* may as well be applied now to Seward as to Webster) brains and intellectual discipline in super-eminent degree; and sometimes they were credited with corresponding moral convictions. Let Salmon P. Chase be warned by their examples. Daniel Webster made a roaring lion of himself, and then made a braying ass of himself. William H. Seward has "gone and done likewise." Will Salmon P. Chase go and do worse than both? "Even they both are an abomination" in the eyes of all who delight in honoring honesty and integrity. "Even they both" made Herods of themselves, in their self-seeking, resulting in self-slaughter. Will Salmon P. Chase fill his ambition, crown his ambition, by out-Heroding these modern Herods, and dying with the arrows of the people sticking fast in him—his living and dying carcass worm-eaten, and a stench in the peoples' nostrils?

The distinguished, ambitious Roman was slain by another Roman. Our distinguished ambitious, our ambitious distinguished, have slain themselves. Will our remaining distinguished, persist in the folly of refusing to learn from all or any of these teachers—these self-slaughtering exemplars? Ambition is not necessarily a bad quality—not necessarily a demoralizing quality. It needs to be balanced and checked by other qualities. Daniel Webster was ambitious. In the beginning of his career he may have been laudably so. It is said that when Thomas A. Merrill took the valedictory over him at Dartmouth—Thomas A. Merrill, who attained only to the position of an indifferent pulpit preacher, at a country seat, on a sunny-side of the Green Mountains—Webster made a disdainful demonstration upon his diploma, and resolved that he "would one day soar as much above 'Tom Merrill, —— ——!" Well, he did. And then he sunk himself as much lower as he had made himself soar higher. At his hight he was looked upon as the "god-like" in the intellectual world; was the "thunderer" among the gods of the Senate; was "the expounder of the Constitution"—one while making it the bulwark of freedom against the aggressions of despotism. His decadence, which had been going on imperceptibly, was strikingly manifest in his sham protest against "re-enacting the laws of God." From this his descent to destruction was swift. His downward velocity sometimes seemed to be more than by "uniformly accelerated motion." His infamy was consummated in his lending his aid to secure the enactment of the infernal Fugitive Slave Law.

David Wilmot, who died recently, was a man of less pretension, and better ambition. David Wilmot, for entering a "proviso," which was to constitute an everlasting barrier against invading despotism, will live in the affections of the just, while the memory of Daniel Webster, who would break down that righteous barrier, will rot.

By such prostitution of talents, and such perverse use of attainments, as was made by Daniel Webster—with such an example of bad ambition badly resulting—such political and moral defection, ending in political, moral and intellectual depravation and final dissolution, to warn him, William H. Seward would not be warned. He too was one while loud in his mouthing for human freedom—had the confidence of earnest philanthropists and credit for genuine philanthropy. As Governor of New York, he withstood manfully the unjust and inhuman requisitions of Virginia. Then he discoursed of "irrepressible conflict" between Constitutional institutions, and declared for "higher law" than conventional swindles. But the time came when he went into the United States Senate and pronounced John Brown "justly hung." This savored of something worse than gratuitous conciliation; it smacked of proffered perfidious affiliation, coming from one of his previous reputation. From that time onward his course has been downward, till he has reached the depths of irretrievable degradation. After failing of the Presidential nomination at Chicago, while canvassing for the election of Abraham Lincoln, he lent himself to the inculcation of the depraving doctrine—the accursed doctrine—that this is the "white man's country and government." Returning to the Senate, he originated and prosecuted to enactment one of the foulest, most unpardonable, most inexpiable of all measures in the history of human legislation—it being in the form of a proposed alteration of the Constitution, in substance that thenceforth there should be no power in Congress or in the States to abolish slavery; and this alteration to be unalterable. This indication of political, intellectual and moral degeneration and unfathomable depravation, he carried through the Senate by a vote of 24 to 12—just the required two-thirds majority; and, with Thomas Corwin's help, through the House by 133 to 65. Among his other flagrant and felonious acts, to commend himself to favorable estimation in the eyes of conspirators and their sympathizers, for the overthrow of "republican form of government," it is not necessary now, perhaps, to mention more than his instigating telegraphic information from Washington to Charleston, making it known that supplies were being sent to Fort Sumter, which information precipitated the movement of the enemy on the government's unfurnished defences.

Between causes and consequences, in the acts of such as Webster and Seward—between their shameful self-abandonment, in their devotion to bad ambition, and the abandonment of *them* by a people more virtuous than they—more virtuous and intelligent than they apprehended and calculated upon—can Salmon P. Chase make no wise and profitable tracing of connection? In the sitting of Senators in the Senate-Chamber, under or over the foul breath of bribing lobbyists, and looking out from that eminence and lounging for a place in an adjacent building that is surrounded by gamblers and thieves—sometimes filled with gamblers and thieves—sometimes presided over by a drunken, dissolute, perfidious gambler and thief; and in the ruin of such ambitious spirits—such aspirants for such a place and situation as Daniel Webster and William H. Seward—it will be well for Salmon P. Chase to see something for consideration and admonition. Daniel Webster, in his downward career, ending in his lending his aid for the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law, found himself self-sold to political and moral gamblers and bankrupts. William H. Seward, in his downward career, through measures more criminal and infamous, if possible—and "whose end is not yet"—will in all probability sometime begin to realize that he too is helplessly, hopelessly self-sold, and politically and morally self-bankrupted. Now, if Salmon P. Chase, in his devotion to a like ambition—for which he has some significant degree of reputation—should be found affiliating with the impeached enemy of the country and humanity, and should get credit for preventing the legitimate, just action of the Senate, called for by the conviction of the intelligent world; and after all this, if Salmon P. Chase, and the Senate with him, should escape impeachment by the people, it would be evidence stronger than has yet been produced, that this people is not yet fitted and prepared for "republican form of government." It would be such cause for rejoicing as despots have not in the history of this country enjoyed.

ORSON S. MURRAY.

Foster's Crossings, Warren Co., O., March, 1868.

WANTED, A WIG.

To the Editor of the Standard:

A PICTURE in *Harper's Weekly* pre-dated April 11th, gives us a view of the Senate with Chief Justice Chase presiding in a gown of state. As the aforesaid Chief Justice is somewhat bald, would it not be as well for him to top it off with a wig, or dawn upon us in the full toggery of a British Lord Chancellor?

There is something humiliating to the nation in this half-way imitation of aristocratic forms. If we cannot be ruled without the introduction of such paraphernalia, it is submitted that our tailors and wig-makers have a right to originate styles proper for a people living under a republican form of government.

This matter of dress is becoming highly important, not only to us, but to our servants in foreign countries. Minister Adams, we are told, could or would not call on Queen Victoria lately, on account of a wardrobe difficulty. Some English papers demanded it as a right of their Queen that our national servant should be dressed in a livery of her selection; but it does not seem possible that we should assent to the view they have taken of the matter. If a court dress should be originated for our ambassadors, we would suggest a cap of maintenance ornamented with horns, and a coat terminating in sufficient length of tail to emblematize the fact that we are playing the "mischief" with other systems of government.

In the present instance, it is admitted that the Constitution decrees that the Chief Justice shall preside; but it is submitted that no authority is given for the introduction of the Chief Justice's frock or male petticoat, and it is questionable whether it be not "*contra bonos mores*" to admit it without the sanction of the female sex and the assent of the Senate.

Should such a proposition be acceded to, it is to be hoped that some patriotic senator, with his country's interest (and principal also) at heart, will propose that the learned Chief Justice be also crowned with a wig, larger and longer than that of the British Lord Chancellor. There is patriotism enough in the country to furnish it, though we should have to kill Dexter and Mountain Boy in order to obtain the material requisite for the manufacture of the article. R. W. H.

THE DAWNING OF MORN.

THE following extract from the platform of principles of the Democratic Convention held in Columbia, S. C., on the 3d inst., may be recognized as a political advance justifying the heading above chosen. It is true that the resolutions were accompanied with an address to the colored members of that community, which had better have been spared under the circumstances; first, because it was needless, and secondly, because those who ask charity ought to show themselves ready to extend it to others.

PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The following are among the resolutions adopted by the Convention:

Resolved, That the Democratic party of South Carolina do unite with the national Democratic party of the country, and hold themselves ready under the Constitution and laws to co-operate with that organization in all principles and in all measures that may be regarded conducive to the interests of the whole country and of all classes of the people.

Resolved, That the people of this State, including all men prepared to act with the party, be earnestly invited to form Democratic clubs in every section of the State.

Resolved, That the people of this State be urgently recommended to go to the polls and vote against the constitution of the radical faction lately promulgated in Charleston, and to vote for good and true men for all offices within their gift. At the same time, in voting for officers under this Constitution, we would put on record our protest against its validity.

Resolved, That, under the action of the State of South Carolina, heretofore taken, *we recognize the colored population of the State as an integral element of the body politic*, and as such, in person and property, entitled to a full and equal protection under the State Constitution and laws; and that as citizens of South Carolina we declare our willingness, when we have the power, to grant them, under proper qualifications as to property and intelligence, the right of suffrage.

Our Southern brethren do well to remember that they are not yet in power, upon the status of the negro. The stern instruction of the late war compelled us to acknowledge his full title to the name of man. Neither is there any necessity for the Democratic party of South Carolina to propose to grant him the rights of suffrage, which has already been conferred upon him by the victorious Republic; still it is pleasant to reflect that those who formerly held him only fit to be a chattel, are now, under certain conditions, ready and willing to acknowledge his right to be a ruler. R. W. H.

RELIEF FOR THE CRETAN WOUNDED.

AMONG all those who suffer for the sake of freedom in the struggle now going forward between the Cretans and their Turkish oppressors, none are in such sore need of help as the wounded patriots of Crete. Left too often upon the battle-field, exposed to the burning rays of the sun, and to danger of mutilation by a barbarous foe, or carried painfully to some mountain village, where they linger in agony, without medical aid, the wounded patriots may well claim our charitable assistance. They fall in defence of their homes and their altars, striving to break the chains of a foreign despot, and the civilized world heaves a useless sigh over their fate.

Something should be done to relieve the Cretan wounded. Will not Christian America, knowing as she knows by bitter experience what it is to have sons and brothers lying helpless on the battle-field, give her aid in this good work? A small proportion of help from so great a country would enable sufficient medical stores to be sent to Crete, and would, moreover, supply the means of removing the wounded Cretans to the mountain strongholds without unnecessary pain. It is intended that an ambulance mule train shall be formed, with proper saddles and litters, and that before many weeks have passed, an effective system of relief shall be in operation. The undersigned, who has been in Crete during the war, and has seen how sorely ambulance help is needed, purposes to return to Greece in May next, and to do his best for the patriots wounded in the Cretan struggle, whatever phase, military or political, that struggle may have then assumed. When it is remembered that a few hundred dollars would provide and equip half a dozen mules at the scene of action, and that every half a dozen of such ambulance mules would relieve the agony of many brave men, there is something practical and definite in this appeal for aid.

Subscriptions to the fund for ambulance relief in Crete, or any communications relating to this charity, may be addressed to J. E. H. Skinner, care of S. G. Ward, Esq., No. 56 Wall street, New York City.

Several noted philanthropists of America, Hon. Gerrit Smith, Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Greeley, Dr. S. G. Howe and William Cullen Bryant, have expressed their good wishes for the success of this effort to relieve the Cretan wounded. But the undersigned takes upon himself the whole responsibility of the effort.

(Signed) J. E. H. SKINNER,

No. 3 Dr. Johnson's Buildings, Temple, London.

WOMEN AT THE POLLS.

ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEEN WOMEN IN PROCESSION.

THE Sturgis (Mich.) *Journal* has the following: "A few weeks ago at a large meeting of the citizens of Sturgis, the ladies were appealed to to aid the cause of prohibition by their influence in the coming election. They replied that they would if they were allowed to vote. At a subsequent meeting the gentlemen could do no less than to invite them to come out on election day and make a demonstration in favor of prohibition. A committee of twelve was appointed, Mrs. Wm. Kyte at the head, as Chairman, to carry out this object. The Committee then canvassed the village and invited all the ladies to come out on that day and join in the demonstration, and show to the world that they were not afraid nor ashamed to go and ask for their rights which have so long been withheld from them. At 2 o'clock, on Monday, election day, they assembled at Union School Hall and marched to the room where the election was held, and one hundred and fourteen deposited their votes in favor of prohibition, and six against.

"Whilst they were marching through the room where the election was held, the utmost order prevailed, and when they were retiring three hearty cheers were given for the ladies of Sturgis. Great credit is due to Mrs. Wm. Kyte, Chairman of the Committee, as well as to all the other members of the committee, for the management of the whole affair. The utmost good feeling prevailed, and not a sneer or a jeer was heard, but a large majority seemed to hail this as a precursor of what they desire and expect in the future, when the people shall be educated to respect the rights of all, and be willing to grant them."

OBITUARY.

WILLIAM ADAMS.

DIED, suddenly, at Pawtucket, R. I., on the 4th inst., WM. ADAMS, aged seventy-six years, a native of Scotland, but for many years a resident of this country.

Bringing from his native land the Scottish love of liberty, and the independent spirit which made him fearless in the utterance of his convictions, he soon learned that the boasted freedom of our country did not mean liberty for all, and he was one of the first and most earnest of those who, at the summons of the *Liberator* in 1831, echoed its cry of immediate emancipation. It was, therefore, fitting, when in his old age he was called to go up higher, that William Lloyd Garrison should be summoned to address the people who gathered to pay tribute to the memory of one who had so long gone in and out before them, with the testimony for freedom ever on his lips.

Mr. Garrison referred to the assistance which William Adams gave to the Anti-Slavery cause in its early days, when helpful words and deeds were so much needed. It did not take, he said, any learned or lengthy argument to convince his departed friend that it was wrong to turn a man into a thing, and to traffic in human flesh. Not a member of any outward church, his was the spirit of Christianity. Within a few years, at his own expense, Mr. Adams had caused to be buried in his own lot in the cemetery two poor men for whose decent interment no other way seemed provided. One of these was an Irishman and one a negro, and he had left the request that he might be laid beside them.

Mr. Garrison said he thought it would have been Mr. Adams's wish that he should on this occasion speak of death and immortality. He then proceeded to rebuke the prevalent theology of the day for inspiring a slavish fear of death, by representing it as an entire and final change in the condition of the soul. The speaker considered death as but a step onward, in no way affecting unchangeably the destinies of man. The love of God which surrounded us in this life, would follow us to another. To deny this would be to deny that His mercy endureth forever; it would be to deny that the inexhaustible love of God *is* inexhaustible. Mourn for our dead we must, but not with the old gloomy, hopeless sorrow. He doubted not that the spirit of William Adams was with us then, or if absent it was not from inability to be present.

The Hon. Thomas Davis, of Providence, followed Mr. Garrison in a few remarks, which seemed inspired by the occasion, and to which nothing but a verbal report could do justice. He came, he said, though al unused to speak at such times, to pay his tribute of gratitude to the departed, because thirty years ago he had learned from him the great truths of freedom, which were not then so clear to him as they had since become. He believed, with Mr. Garrison, that death is but a step in our eternal progress. When the soul entered upon immortality, he thought there came to it no sudden flash of perfect knowledge and power, but only a gradual unfolding. He loved to think, however, that there did come to the hour of death an illumination from the highest elevation of virtue the soul had ever reached in life. Men should be judged, not so much by any little failings or inconsistencies, as by their grand, inspired moments, whose glory lightened all the rest, made their poorer, weaker hours less poor and weak, and lighted up the time of death. Could the soul really *lose* the vantage ground it had once gained, through the faults and inconsistencies common to all men? Would it not enter the next life from the highest point ever attained here, rather than from the lower plane of its ordinary existence?

The venerable William Chace, of Providence, said he would not bid farewell to the friend who had passed onward and upward, for he felt that he should soon follow him. In the old days, when to call a man an Abolitionist was to call him the worst name possible, William Adams had ever been true and faithful. A crowd of reminiscences rushed upon his brain as he stood there, of the times, "when," said he, "we Abolitionists suffered every persecution—nay, I would rather say *they* suffered, for I dare not rank myself with them. That would be too much honor; but this I will say, they are my friends, they are my kindred—with them I have lived, with them I hope to die.

Mr. Thomas Robinson, of Pawtucket, arose finally to testify that the later years of William Adams's life fulfilled the promise of his earlier manhood. He was to the last the friend of the poor man, a bold, independent, free-thinking man. C.

LITERARY.

OUR readers remember the striking, almost sublime "Lines to a Bust of Dante" by Dr. Parsons, of Boston. The following gem is from the same mine. We find it in the *Star of the East*, a daily paper published in the Cretan Fair at Boston:

"SOTTO L'USBERGO DEL SENTIRSI PURO."

Brush not the floor where my lady hath trod,
Lest one light sign of her foot you mar,
For where she walks, in the Spring, on the sod,
There, I have noticed, most violets are.

Touch not her work, nor her book—nor a thing
That her exquisite finger hath only pressed,
But fan the dust off with a plume that the wing
Of a ring-dove let fall, on his way to his nest.

I think the sun stops, if a moment she stand,
In the morn, sometimes, at her Father's door,
And the brook where she may have dipt her hand
Runs purer to me than it did before.

How I dare to speak to her scarce I can guess,
But the courage comes, for she makes me strong;
What *is* in my heart? is it love? O yes—
But a love with worship that knows no wrong.

Under the mail of "*I know me pure*,"
I dare to *dream* of her—and by day,
As oft as I come to her presence, I'm sure
Had I one low thought, she would look it away.

T. W. PARSONS.

IRELAND FOR THE IRISH. Rhymes and Reasons Against Landlordism. By W. J. Linton. A 12mo., 97 pp. New York: The American News Company.

Fortunate indeed would be "Erin" if every champion of her cause possessed the clearness of vision—the realization of her needs, evinced by the author of the above blending of prose and verse.

A Briton by birth, Mr. Linton, to a thorough knowledge of his subject, brings the most intense aspiration for that liberty which knows not "realm or birth-place," but is the common heritage of all humanity. In the preface, a treatise on *Fenianism* and *Republicanism*, enhancing greatly the value of the work, the author thus speaks:

"And you who are not going to invade Ireland—you millions of Irish-American citizens, for whom there would not be room even in the most republican Ireland—cannot you do something for the country of your adoption—for America herself—by teaching her that truer republican programme which she has yet to learn—the caring on the morrow, as well as on the eve of an election, not only for her own citizens, but for Humanity also, whatever may have been written in her Constitution? So found a new Ireland here. Make it Irish-America, if you will, with honorable rivalry striving to displace and revenge yourselves upon the Saxon. But make it as you make Ireland—as you make yourselves—republican first, and above all things republican."

As a specimen of the thoughtful character of Mr. Linton's muse, which must not only be read but *studied* to be fully appreciated, we subjoin the following poem:

OUR HERITAGE.

God's gift, the Land, our common heritage,—
To Adam and his seed, and not entail'd
Upon a few:—what deed hath countervail'd
That tenure handed down from age to age?

God's only curse is labor: with the sweat
Of honest brows to earn the fruit of toil.
He plagued us not with landlords, to despoil
The laborer of his God-acknowledged debt.

Parcel the measured ocean; fence the air;
Claim property in clouds and spray-topp'd waves;
In sun and stars; in heaven, as in our graves:
If thou art earth-lord, Tyrant! and God's heir.

An artist conscientiously studious, with a reputation second to that, in his line, of no engraver American or European, and dealing with literature merely as a relaxation, Mr. Linton has reason to be satisfied with the excellence of the work he has given to the public. The book is neatly printed, contains ninety-seven pages, and may be had of William P. Tomlinson, 39 Nassau st., or of the American News Company. It deserves a wide circulation among the true friends of Irish liberty, and merits a careful perusal by all.

Harper's Bazar for April 18, contains an interesting article of "Women and their work in the Metropolis." The different branches of employment are well illustrated. The number for April 25, presents a variety of good reading matter, with the usual departments for fashion plates and fancy work. The Supplement furnishes eighteen different patterns which may be easily transferred and made available for use.

The Phrenological Journal for May contains the Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Rev. Samuel J. May; Dr. Lindley, the Botanist; Rev. Jabez Burns, of London; Mrs. H. A. Manville, Poet; King Theodore, the Abyssinian; Handel; Haydn; Mozart; Beethoven; Bach; Mendelssohn; Auber; besides papers on Mental Action; Duty, the Popular Idea; Unity in Division; Hard Times—Cause and Cure; What is the Motive? The Origin of Man; Diversities of Gifts; Moral of a Cash Account, etc., with engraved illustrations. S. R. Wells, Publisher, 389 Brpadway, New York.

The May number of *Lippincott's Magazine* contains: "Dallas Galbraith, Part V.," by Mrs. R. Harding Davis; "Passing Beyond," by Edgar Fawcett; "John Neagle, the Artist," by Thomas Fitzgerald; "Valdemar the Happy," by M. E. M. Sangster; "A Village School in Germany," by C. M. Martin; "An American Fishing Port," by G. H. Procter; "Loyal En Tout: A Tale," by Kate P. Kereven; "The Talmud," by Rev. Louis C. Newman, D. D.; "Court of the Tuileries," by Geo. M. Towle; "Communication with the Pacific and Beyond," by R. T. Colburn; "Willie's Wife," by Rosamond Dale Owen; "Bostonian Wit and Humor," by Rev. Walter Mitchell; "From the Woods," by Paul H. Hayne; "Monthly Gossip;" "Literature of the Day," etc. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Publishers, 715 and 717 Market street, Philadelphia.

RECEIVED.

Harper's Magazine for May. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Northern Monthly for May. New York: 132 Nassau street.

Lippincott's Magazine for May. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Harper's Weekly. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Galaxy for May. New York: Sheldon & Co.

Littell's Living Age. Boston: Littell & Gay.

The Atlantic for May. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

THE Second Anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association will be held in New York city on the 14th of May next, at the Cooper Institute, commencing at 10 o'clock, a. m., to continue through the day and evening. It is earnestly desired that all those who believe that human rights inhere in human beings and are not dependent on any accident of sex or color, will be present to aid in establishing this essential element of justice.

Our statesmen are now attempting to reconstruct this government under the mistaken idea that the troubles of a government based on "the consent of the governed," can be healed, while more than half the people are shut out from all possibility of giving consent. They attempt to perpetuate an aristocracy of sex, unjust, tyrannical, and odious, of which the world must be rid before there can ever be a true Republic, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

To aid in establishing such a Republic, let the friends of equal human rights come to our anniversary, with fresh baptisms of faith in the sure triumph of these principles, with new pledges to use every just and honorable means to forward this cause.

In behalf of the Committee of arrangements.

LUCY STONE.

THE Second Anniversary of the Universal Peace Society will be held at Dodworth's Hall, New York, on Friday, May 15th, 1868, commencing at 10 o'clock, a. m., and continuing through several sessions.

Advertisements.

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LOVED TOO LATE.

FAR off in the dim and desolate Past—
That shoreless and sorrowful sea
Where wrecks are driven by wave and blast,
Shattered, sunken, and lost at last,
Lies the heart that was broken for me—
Poor heart!
Long ago brok n for me!

My loves were Glory and Pride and Art—
Ah, dangerous rivals three!
Sweet lips might quiver, and warm tears start;
Should an artist pause for a woman's heart—
Even that which was broken for me!
Poor heart!
Too rare to be broken for me!

Oh, she was more mild than the summer wind,
More fair than the lilies be;
More true than the star with twilight twined,
Was the spirit against whose love I sinned—
The heart that was broken for me—
Poor heart!
Cruelly broken for me!

I told her an artist should wed his art—
That only his love should be;
No other should lure me from mine apart,
I said: and my cold words chilled her heart,
The heart that was broken for me—
Poor heart!
Hopelessly broken for me!

I spoke of the beautiful years to come
In the lands beyond the sea—
Those years which must be wearisome
To her; but her patient lips were dumb;
In silence it broke for me!
Poor heart!
Broke, yet complained not, for me!

I pressed her hand, and rebuked her tears,
Lightly and carelessly;
I said my triumphs should reach her ears,
And left her alone with dismal years,
And the heart that was breaking for me—
Poor heart!
Silently breaking for me!

My days were a dream of Summer-time,
My life was a victory;
Fame wove bright garlands to crown my prime,
And I half forgot in that radiant clime
The heart that was breaking for me—
Poor heart!
Patiently breaking for me!

But my whole life seemed, as the swift years rolled,
More hollow and vain to be;
Fame's bosom at best is hard and cold—
Oh! I would have given all praises and gold
For the heart that was broken for me—
Poor heart!
Thanklessly broken for me!

Sick with longing, hope, and dread,
I hurried across the sea;
She had wasted as though with grief, they said—
Poor child, poor child!—and was long since dead;
Ah! dead for the love of me—
Poor heart!
Broken, and vainly, for me!

Weighed down by a load too heavy to hold,
She died murmuringly!
And I, remorseful and unconsoled,
I dream of the wasted days of old,
And the heart that was broken for me—
Poor heart!
Broken so vainly for me!

And my soul cries out in bitter pain
For the bliss that cannot be—
For the love that never can come again,
For the sweet young life that was lived in vain,
And the heart that was broken for me—
Poor heart!
Broken and buried for me!

ART IN FRANCE.

A MORNING WITH GUSTAVE DORE.

Paris Correspondence of the London Telegraph.

A MORNING in Gustave Dore's *atelier* is a treat a prince might envy. The truth expressed in the adage, that the poet is born, not made, applies with equal if not greater force to the painter. No amount of mere acquirements will enable a man to write poetry who has not received the gift of song. The poet enters, however, on his vocations with but extraneous help. With the painter it is otherwise. He must go through a laborious and expensive course of study in order to acquire the *mechanique* of his art before he can stand before the poets as an interpreter of nature, before he can adequately give expression to the conceptions of his imaginations. It is not every eye which can detect the peculiar excellence of a great artist's work. Admiration may be excited in the highest degree, and yet the subject of it may be unable to detect where the charm lies. This is especially the case in regard to that department of the art of painting in which the chief influence upon the mind of the beholder is derived from color.

No man in modern times has unfolded so fully or with so much magnificence as Gustave Dore the glories and mysteries of color. No one can dispute that his works are among the noblest and most beautiful illustrations which could be given of modern genius in art. As you stand in his *atelier* you are amused by the versatility of his genius. You connot rank him with the *classiques*, and still less with the *realistes*—he is rather an eclectic, holding a middle station between them. But I must explain that the object of my visit was to convey to your readers a faint idea of the *tout ensemble* which will meet their eye at the exhibition to take place in London, during the present season, of some of Gustave Dore's *chef d'œuvres*, which exhibition will be held under the direction of Messrs. James Liddle Farrless and G. L. Beeforth. The place chosen is the German Gallery, New Bond street, which I only fear may prove too small a space for the wealth of productions which have entirely absorbed M. Dore's attention for several months past, for the purpose of imparting a complete idea of his talent to the British public, of whose judgment and artistic taste, I may tell you in confidence, he has much higher opinion than that of his own countrymen.

The leading feature of this exhibition will consist of a magnificent allegorical subject representing "The Triumph of Christianity or the Downfall of Paganism"—a composition admirably suited for the display of M. Dore's remarkable imaginative faculty, and which, for sublimity of conception and grandeur of effect, will command general admiration. The picture may be said to consist of two distinct phases. As central figure in the upper section stands the Saviour, holding a cross, the figure almost lost in a flood of glory, encircled by winged angels and by the glorified spirits of the redeemed. In presence of the Christian Revelation, Paganism sinks to the deepest abyss of darkness and oblivion. On the left, as it were, of the lower section of the picture, Africa, with her heathen gods, the bull Apis and his adepts; towards the centre Asia and the god Dagon; the Babylonish divinities, Baal Nimrod, the Assyrian bulls, the gods of India, are all precipitated into the boundless sea of gloom and shame. Jupiter and the Grecian divinities recede in the distance on the right, and on the left the gods of the North, Thor. Odin, etc., and the Druid priesthood gradually vanish from sight.

To give any idea of the splendors of the coloring displayed in the jewelled adornments, the gold-worked vestments, the helmets, and the various insignia—if I may use the expression—of these heathen divinities, and their attendant priesthood, would require a pen dipped in the gorgeous colors of the great master's palette. But this is not the only work preparing for London. There is a splendid composition from Milton, which, though as yet unfinished, bears the impress of great genius. The angels, after their victory over Satan, spend one night on earth, to contemplate the battle-field. The conquered in millions lie heaped on the broad plains of earth, now lost in the dark shadows of eternal night. The hosts of white-winged angels crowd an eminence, from whence, in the calm majesty of power, they look down on the slain. Day is breaking, and the first roseate hues of morning flush their etherial forms. This picture is destined to have a tremendous success. But many and various are the subjects intended for London. There is a wonderful painting—several Carthusian monks in their white robes occupying the stalls of their convent chapel, listening to mass. The subject, handled with less genius, would be monotonous in the extreme, but Dore's brush has made of it a most startling and characteristic picture of convent life. Most of the monks are old men; many of them appear stupefied by their long seclusion, others are absorbed in devotion, others, again, are asleep.

In strong contrast to these, is the central figure of this long row of aged ascetics, a young man, the beauty and refinement of whose features at once mark him as of a different race from his companions. There is sorrow, love, regret—nay, more, hopeless dismay in every line of his countenance. In a moment of despair and disgust he has turned his back on the world and its joys and loves, and rushed into the convent. The door has closed on him forever, but whether he there found peace is the question. Certainly his rash act has proved an utter failure. I regret that this picture has little chance of appearing in England, as Count de Nieuerkerque has marked it for his *salon* in Paris; but you must not complain. You may—I cannot promise—have a wonderful portrait, the only one he had ever executed, of Patti. It is life-size and life-like. He has certainly idealized the spoiled child of song; but the likeness is perfect! She stands in white drapery, her hands crossed on her handkerchief, for all ornament a crimson rose, *perdu* in her dark *echevelure*. For London there is a large picture, "Beggars in a street at Seville;" only if the children of Spanish beggars are a tithe as lovely as here depicted, princes may envy their possession. A setting sun, seen athwart a pine forest (strongly recalling Danby's effect of red sunlight,) three Alpine views wonderful in the contrast of valleys half veiled, the rising mists, and the sun-lit rocks which bound the horizon; three Spanish subjects—one a Spanish lady and her duenna, having her fortune told by a Gitano; a second, the same lovely Seyillana and her hideous duenna ascending the steps of an old cathedral, distributing alms to the poor, who bend low as she passes; and the third, "Vespers,"—groups of Southern beauties, shrouded in their lace mantillas, kneeling on the cathedral floor, absorbed in prayer or gossip.

There are some Biblical subjects, of which one is sure to command a tremendous price. The subject is "Gideon and the Camels' Halting." While the animals lap the water, the Israelitish chief watches with anxiety for the promised omen. The water in this picture is something wonderful. It is clear, but strewn with green weeds; gleams of scarlet light—for the sun is fast setting—streak its even surface; this gorgeous light is seen through the crowd of camels and the group of Jewish warriors. The coloring recalls that of the marvellous Claude Lorraine, in the Doria Palace at Rome; and yet the subject is treated with something of the mystic fancy of Turner. Altogether, it is a wonderful picture. It may interest you to know that M. Dore is not a painter only, but an admirable musician. He receives on Sundays at his private residence. Lately, Gueymard and an artist whose name escapes me were executing a duo from "Guilaume Tell," from memory, therefore without music. M. Dore improvised an accompaniment on his violin, which, if he were not the painter he is, would have won for him the rank of a true musician. *Du reste*, like all men of genius, he commands your sympathy at once by the rare and exceeding simplicity of his manner, and the cordial simplicity of his reception. I forgot to mention that among the drawings *en grisaille*, which M. Dore will exhibit at the German Gallery, will be the only original sketches of the well known ascent of the Matterhorn, which proved fatal to Lord Hobert Douglas and his three friends, as well as of the frightful accident, with the engravings from which you are familiar.

BRITISH PREMIERS.

THE resignation of office by Lord Derby renders it interesting to recall the premiers who have held office for the last 114 years. The Duke of Newcastle came into power April 5, 1754, and held office for 8 years and 52 days. The Earl of Bute took office May 22, 1752, and held it for 322 days. The administration of Mr. G. G. Greenville commenced April 16, 1763, and lasted for 2 years and 87 days. The Marquis of Rockingham took office July 12, 1765, and held it for 1 year and 21 days. The administration of the Duke of Grafton, which commenced August 2, 1776, lasted 3 years and 179 days. The administration of Lord North was one of unusual duration, commencing January 28, 1770, and lasting 12 years and 34 days. The Marquis of Rockingham again came into power, March 3, 1782, and held it for 132 days. He was succeeded, July 13, 1782, by the Earl of Shelborne, whose term of power was 266 days. The next premier was the Duke of Portland, who came into power April 5, 1783, and remained in office 260 days. Then came a very long administration, that of Mr. Pitt, who came into power December 27, 1783, and held office for 17 years and 80 days.

Mr. Pitt was succeeded March 17, 1801, by Lord Sidmouth, who remained in office three years and fifty-six days. Then came the second Pitt administration, commencing May 12, 1804, and lasting one year and two hundred and forty-six days. Lord Grenville took office January 8, 1806, and held it for one year and sixty-four days. The Duke of Portland again became Premier, March 13, 1807, and remained in office three years and one hundred and two days. He was succeeded June 28, 1810, by Mr. Spencer Perceval, whose term of power extended over one year and one hundred and fifty days. The Earl of Liverpool's administration which commenced June 8, 1812, was a very long one, lasting fourteen years and three hundred and seven days. Mr. Canning succeeded Lord Liverpool, April 11, 1827, but only remained in office one hundred and twenty-one days. Lord Goderich, who succeeded Mr. Canning August 10, 1827, also held office only one hundred and sixty-eight days. The next administration was that of the Duke of Wellington, which commenced January 25, 1828, and lasted two years and three hundred and one days.

Earl Gray began his administration November 22, 1830, and continued in power 3 years and 231 days. Lord Melbourne assumed the reins of government July 11, 1834, but only held them 128 days. Then came the second administration of the Duke of Wellington, which commenced November 16, 1834, but only lasted 22 days. Sir Robert Peel took office December 8, 1834, but only remained in power 131 days. The second administration of Lord Melbourne, which commenced April 18, 1834, lasted 6 years and 138 days. Sir Robert Peel took the office a second time September 3, 1841, and held it for 4 years and 97 days. Then Lord J. Russell was sent for, December 10, 1845, but his lordship only held office 10 days. Sir Robert Peel returned to power December 20, 1845, and remained in office 188 days.

The second administration of Lord John Russell, which commenced June 26, 1846, lasted 5 years and 239 days. The Earl of Derby came into office February 22, 1852, and held it 300 days. The administration of the Earl of Aberdeen, which commenced December 19, 1852, lasted 2 years and 45 days. The first administration of Lord Palmerston, which commenced February 5, 1855, lasted 3 years and 17 days. The Earl of Derby's second administration commenced February 21, and lasted 1 year and 111 days. Then came Lord Palmerston's second administration which, commencing June 13, 1859, lasted 6 years and 128 days. On the death of Lord Palmerston, Earl Russell became Premier for the third time, but his lordship only held office on this occasion 140 days. The Earl of Derby's third tenure of power commenced June 27, 1866, and has now terminated after the lapse of 1 year and 241 days.

HUMOR.—Humor is the soul of comedy; but humor, however genuine in essence, is in its manifestation extremely dependent on the day,—on its manners, mode, and fashion. How many writers do we read with the conviction that the reputation which they had in their time for humor was more than merited! yet we are grave while we admire. Wizards, such as Rabelais and Cervantes, who once waved the rod of ridicule with such potency as to set all Europe laughing, can hardly now create a smile; and yet we split our sides at the bidding of men, who are, in comparison with these great masters, but jugglers and buffoons. It is no matter of severe difficulty to act on the sense of the ludicrous through immediate associations, and by means of proximate excitement. Drollery and fun are more effective as the time passes, than wit and fancy are when the time has passed; and yet such drollery and fun may have in them neither wit nor fancy.

The animal spirits, which exhilarate the blood, may produce mirth the present moment, when it may not be produced afterwards by the most original imagery that can be fashioned in the brain. The clown of a circus, the harlequin of a pantomime, the jester in a farce, will set thousands in a roar, where the spirit of Yorick, without his gambols, would not provoke a smile. But all such humor expires in the moment of its existence; and, even "to mock its own grinning," there remains no laugh a moment after. Most humor is connected, not with what is essential, natural and universal, but with what is limited, exceptional and extravagant. The mass of humor, in order to be current, must be so connected: "And so from hour to hour it ripes and ripes, and then from hour to hour it rots and rots." In Shakspeare, instead of humor being bound to evanescent circumstances, and, dying when *they* die, the circumstances are bound to immortal humor, and must live because *that* lives.—*Giles's Human Life in Shakspeare.*

NO IMPRESSION IS LOST.

"We know so much as we are conscious of,"
Yet whatsoe'er has ever touched our hearts
And charmed, though it now seems sunk and lost,
All *that*—shall memory one day give us back.
For not a deep, not an abyss alone,
Is this our soul! The sea, too, often bears
Its flower-gardens on its upper waves,
And its deep bottom thus is hid from sight
Even to a child, that then for the first time
Plays on the shore, much more than to a spirit
That trembling waits to see a miracle
Upon the strand of being's mighty sea!

—*From the German of Leopold Schefer.*

NOVEL APPLICATIONS OF ELECTRICITY.

ROBERT HOUDIN, the greatest *prestidigitateur* of modern times, lives in a charming mansion called the "Priory," in the village of Saint Gervais, upon the right bank of the Loire, about one and a half miles from the city of Blois. His dwelling, with the spacious grounds surrounding it, are believed by the common people of the vicinity to be controlled by some mysterious agent; and, in their eyes the owner has an almost supernatural reputation. * * * * The main entrance to the Priory is a carriage-way closed by a gate. Upon the left of this is a door for the admission of visitors on foot; on the right is placed a letter-box. The mansion is situated a quarter of a mile distant, and is approached by a broad and winding road, well shaded with trees. The visitor presenting himself before the door on the left sees a gilt plate bearing the name of Robert Houdin, below which is a small gilt knocker. He raises this according to his fancy, but no matter how feeble the blow, a delicately tuned chime of bells, sounding through the mansion, announces his presence. When the attendant touches a button placed in the hall, the chime ceases, the bolt at the entrance is thrown back, the name of Robert Houdin disappears from the door, and in its place appears the word "entrez" in white enamel. The visitor pushes open the door and enters; it closes with a spring behind him, and he cannot depart without permission. This door, in opening, sounds two distinct chimes, which are repeated in the inverse order in closing. Four distinct sounds then, separated by equal intervals, are produced. In this way a single visitor is announced. If many come together, as each holds the door open for the next, the interval between the first two and the last two strokes indicates with great accuracy, especially to a practiced ear, the number who have entered; and the preparation for their reception is made accordingly.

A resident of the place is readily distinguished; for, knowing in advance, what is to occur, he knocks, and at the instant when the bolt slips back, he enters. The four equidistant strokes follow immediately the pressing of the button. But a new visitor, surprised at the appearance of the word "entrez," hesitates a second or two; then presses open the door gradually and enters slowly. The four strokes, now separated by a short interval, succeed the pressing of the button by quite an appreciable time, and the host makes ready to receive a stranger. The travelling beggar, fearful of committing some indiscretion, raises timidly the knocker; he hesitates to enter, and when he does, it is only with great slowness and caution. This the chimes unerringly announce. It seems to persons at the house as if they actually saw the poor mendicant pass the entrance; and in going to meet him, they are never mistaken. When a carriage arrives at the Priory, the driver descends from his box, enters the door by the method now described, and is directed to the key of the gate by a suitable inscription. He unlocks the gate, and swings open its two parts; the movement is announced at the house, and on a table in the hall, bearing the words, "The gate is ——," appears the word "open" or "closed," according to the fact. The letter-box, too, has an electric communication with the house. The carrier, previously instructed, drops in first all the printed matter together; then he adds the letters, one by one. Each addition sounds the chime; and the owner, even if he has not yet risen, is apprised of the character of his dispatches. To avoid sending letters to the village, they are written in the evening; and a commutator is so arranged that when the carrier drops the mail into the box the next morning, the electricity, in place of sounding the chime in the house, sounds one over his head. Thus warned, he comes up to the house to leave what he has brought, and to take away the letters ready for mailing. "My electric door-keeper, then (says Houdin) leaves me nothing to be desired. His service is most exact; his fidelity is thoroughly proven; his discretion is unequalled; and, as to his salary, I doubt the possibility of obtaining an equal service for a smaller remuneration." * *

This study-clock transmits the time to two dial-plates. One, placed upon the front of the house, gives the hour of the day to the neighborhood; the other, fastened to the gardener's lodge, facing the house, gives the time to its inmates. Several smaller dials, operated similarly, are placed in the various apartments. They all, however, have but a single striking part, but this is powerful enough to be heard over the entire village. Upon the top of the house is a tower containing a bell on which the hours of meals are announced. Below this is a train of wheel-work to raise the hammer. To avoid the necessity of winding up the weight every day, an automatic arrangement is employed, which utilizes a force ordinarily lost. Between the kitchen, situated upon the ground floor, and the clock-work in the garret, there is a contrivance so arranged that the servants, in going to and fro about their work, wind up the weight without being conscious of it. An electric current set in motion by the study regulator, raises the detent, and permits the number of strokes indicated by the dial. This manner of distributing the time from the study, Houdin finds very useful. When, for any reason, he wishes the meals hurried or retarded, he presses a secret key, and the time upon all the dials is altered to suit his convenience. The cook finds often that the time passes very rapidly; while a quarter of an hour or more, not otherwise attainable, is gained by Mr. Houdin.

Every morning this clock sends, at different hours, electric impulses to awaken three persons, the first of whom is the gardener. But in addition, the apparatus forces them to rise, by continuing to sound until the circuit is broken by moving a small key placed at the further end of the room. To do this the sleeper must rise, and then the object sought is accomplished. The poor gardener is almost tormented by this electricity. The greenhouse is so arranged that he cannot raise its temperature above 10 dgs. C. (50 dgs. F.), or let it fall below 30 dgs. C. (37 dgs. F.), without a record in the study. The next morning Houdin says to him, "Jean, you had too much heat last night; you will scorch my geraniums;" or, "Jean, you are in danger of freezing my orange trees; the thermometer descended to three degrees below zero (27 dgs. F.) last night." Jean scratches his head and says nothing, but he evidently regards Houdin as a sorcerer.—*The (Yale) College Courant.*

FACT AND IMAGINATION.—A lecture on this interesting subject was recently delivered in the Ipswich Mechanics' Institute, London, by Mr. T. S. Gowing:

"What," said the lecturer, "do I mean by fact? What by imagination? A definition of fact appears to be one of the easiest of tasks. Everybody will tell you 'a fact is a fact;' and yet, when you inquire about the simplest circumstance, what different versions are commonly given! A fact should be an ascertained truth relative to a deed, a point of time, an event, etc. Strictly speaking, we are not justified in calling anything a fact which is not absolutely true and indispensable; but, popularly speaking, everything is a fact which a man from his own point of view conceives to wear the appearance of reality. Imagination will, in this lecture, be regarded as that faculty of the mind by which physical or mental objects are vividly perceived, not merely in their simple relations, but in accordance with the laws of mental associations and affinity, and therefore so arranged in the mind, that the objects themselves, when recalled, can be reproduced with life-like clearness and force, and represented either in their simple forms or in new yet appropriate combinations.

"Science is not merely a knowledge of facts but of the principles which govern facts; for to know a fact is not necessarily to know that of which fact is significant. It is not, therefore, by multiplied collections of facts made easy that science can hope to advance; but by a clear perception of what may be deduced from one or more unexplained facts. A well-understood principle is an absolute accession to our knowledge, and is commonly applicable to a wide range of phenomena; but a mere fact can never have more than a limited and relative value. In what is called invention or discovery contrary to the accumulative course of mere factists, it is from a few carefully observed facts, in some cases even from a single fact, that brooding genius makes the leap forward in the twilight which we call invention or discovery. I have used the expression 'twilight,' because they are generally dawnings of light from various quarters, heralding the meridian glow of new truths. In this, the first anticipatory stage of discovery, it is my belief that imagination is the chief agent; and that the logical faculty is never employed in discovery or invention till imagination has first struck out the thought at a heat, which it is the subsequent province of the logical faculty to correct and verify."

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT VS. THE LAW OF KINDNESS.

I HAVE read with unfeigned regret the communication published in the columns of the *Mercury* of Thursday the 27th inst., wherein the writer, quoting Solomon, supports the continuation of corporal punishment in our schools. I am most thoroughly opposed to this barbarous method of preserving discipline in the school-room; believing as I do that order and obedience, can much better be preserved without than with flagilation, and furthermore, that he or she, who cannot command good order without resorting to this cruel method, is not well qualified for the office of a teacher of youth. I believe in the sacredness of the human body, the "form divine," the temple in which the great Creator has placed the immortal spirit. "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you." Such was the language of the great apostle of the Gentiles. And our blessed Saviour says, "Suffer little children to come unto me for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." Shall we be guided by the sweet heavenly spirit of these passages, or by that of the sterner, and less enlightened age of the ancient seer, who though wise, when under divine direction, does not always appear to have been thus guided. We may venerate his wisdom when shown, but certainly it can be no profanation to doubt it in the case so often used for the justification of cruelty to harmless little children. Alas! how many a poor helpless child has writhed and groaned under the merciless lash of some devout worshipper of the old ritual.

All, I should think, will admit, that unsafe must be the power, which not unfrequently has proved fatal in its results; and how few there be, even admitting the practicability of continuing corporal punishment in schools, who have the discretion to make use of it. With the advancement of civilization this relic of barbarism must pass away, as many other cruel customs and laws have done. Once a husband could beat his wife with a stick, as the law prescribed, "not bigger than his thumb," and doubtless there are those even now, who would defend such a tyrannical custom. Wherever the penal code is very comprehensive, it is well known, crimes are more frequent than where it is limited, and so on board ship, in school, and elsewhere, the more severe and arbitrary the rules and punishment, the greater the disturbance and insubordination. The best schools I attended in my youth were those where the discipline was the mildest. A gentleman of my acquaintance, a graduate of Harvard, when quite a young man took a country school, which had been marked for the turbulency of its scholars, and the great amount of flogging done by the teacher. My friend who was a mere stripling and a novice in the business of schoolkeeping, resolved to try the effect of kindness. On the morning he entered the school-room he found the boys, some of whom were larger and stronger than himself, already collected there, evidently in concert for mischief, expecting as heretofore, a contest with the instrument of punishment. The youthful teacher entered the room with smiling face, bidding them "good morning," for which mark of politeness they were evidently unprepared, and did not fully appreciate from the slight disturbance which followed. Taking no notice, however, of this, the teacher walked up to the desk, and in a quiet and kindly manner addressed his pupils—stating to them in a clear and simple maner, the object they both had in view, and how important to effect it were good order and mutual kindness; and concluded by saying that he should use no other coercion than kindness, and do his best to instrust them, and should trust to their sense of honor by which the school-room would be made a place of pleasure and profit to them all. He then took the ruler that had so long blistered the hands of the boys, and walking with it to the stove, put it into the fire and destroyed it. The boys at once became the most orderly, and he kept his school through the season without the least trouble, and left behind him the respect of his pupils and their parents, as well as a wise example worth following by all teachers who are interested in the progress of the human race. I need hardly add, that my friend is one of the most enlightened of men and genial of companions. Comensurate with our faith in the goodness and mercy of God will be our trust in the law of kindness. The idea of retributive justice is, I trust, passing away from among the wisest and best educated, both in spiritual and temporal concerns, showing that the *lex talionei* is confined to the most crude and barbarous state of society. Much might be added to show the inhumanity and impolicy of corporal punishment, both at home as well as at school, and elsewhere; and case after case can be produced to show the deplorable results of flagelation in the school-room here in enlightened New England, and in our own community, where until of late, it was no uncommon sight for a scholar to be flogged in the presence of a whole school, until the blood fell upon the floor. "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in Ashkelon!" I do not intend to preach a homily, but in conclusion let us refresh ourselves with the following inspired lines from New England's noblest and truest bard:

"I walk with bare, hushed fee t the ground
Ye tread with boldness shod;
I dare not fix with mete, and bound,
The love and power of God."

"I see the wrong that round me lies,
I feel the guilt within;
I hear with groan, and travail-cries,
The world confess its sin."

"Yet in the maddening maze of things,
And tossed by storm and flood,
To one fixed star my spirit clings;
I know that God is good!"

In this goodness let us trust. D. R.

—*New Bedford Mercury.*

SIGNS IN THE RAPIDS.

WE are told by the Buffalo *Express* that the interesting question of geological and commercial importance, as to what period of the time is likely to be consumed by the falls of Niagara in wearing their way up the bed of Niagara river, past Tonawanda and Black Rock, until they become at Buffalo the falls of Lake Erie, has been raised anew of late by some remarkable signs observed in the rapids above Horse-shoe fall, which are thought to forebode an early downfall of the rocks forming that magnificent cataract. If the limestone ledge over which the river now falls is, as is supposed, in course of being undermined by a subterranean stream, breaking through as far back as nearly half a mile, of course the consequences, inevitable and liable to ensue at any moment, must be an immense breaking away of the face of the cataract, changing its whole form and appearance—perhaps converting the perpendicular fall into a shooting rapid down a steep decline. Some observers at the falls anticipate this grand catastrophe at an early day. In confirmation of these opinions, we find it stated in the Hamilton (Ontario) *Times*, that within a few weeks past, "Dr. J. N. Osborne, at Chippewa, has noted a marked and constant change in the motion of the rapids at the place indicated, and it is also reported that indications are discovered of the pouring of a subterranean stream into the gulf below the falls, which the absence of the mist, it is thought, would reveal beyond a doubt." The same editor remarks that a gentleman from the falls, with whom he has conversed, fully believes that the days of the great Horse shoe are numbered. It was the opinion of Prof. Hall, in his report, that the effect of continued recession must be to gradually diminish the height of the falls, both by the rising of the bed of the river at their base and by the slopes of the massive limestone to a lower level. The thin-bedded limestone above being swept off, the succeeding shales and marls of the Onondaga group must immediately follow, and the falls, he thought, may become almost stationary, when their base is at the base of the massive sandstone, and their upper line is, as now, over its upper edge. This Prof. Hall thought likely to be the case, after a further recession of about two miles, and the height of the fall must then be reduced to about eighty feet. In 1818 and in 1819, great fragments of rock fell at the falls with a concussion which shook the whole country around, as by an earthquake. If citizens are presently awakened some morning by a shock which starts them from their beds, they may know that Horse-shoe falls has become a memory of the past.

HOW FIRES ARE PUT OUT IN GERMANY.

THE *Volksfreund*, of Cincinnati, has the following incredible specimen of red-tapeism communicated to it by a correspondent in Stuttgart, Germany:

It is said that the burgomaster of Schilda once issued an order that the engine should always be tested and put in good working order three days before a fire took place. In Wurtemberg, it is positively true that the alarm of fire cannot be given until the *oberamtmann* (recorder) or "city director" has been duly informed and given his permission.

On the night of January 19, a fire, caused as is supposed by an incendiary, broke out in the granery of the (horse) postmaster's in Gaildorf. As a high wind was blowing, all was soon in a blaze. The town-runner, Aichele, was at once sent full speed to the Oberamtmann, twelve miles distant, to ask for the fire engines. He came, but had lost the written order on the way, and the Oberamtmann would not let the engines go without a regular demand in black and white to show for it. In vain did the messenger insist that they might inflict any punishment they pleased on him, but not to let the unfortunate town suffer for his carelessness—the red-tape man remained firm, stuck to the letter of the law, and, without so much as letting the chief of the fire-department know what was required, and with the distant flames plainly visible, drove the messenger away and turned to his pillow, to sleep the slumber of an official who strictly obeys the law. By five o'clock in the morning, Aichele had returned with a new order, but during the time forty-seven houses had been burned, including the post, the church, the castle of Count von Pueckler, and seventy-eight families, in all three hundred people, were turned out half-naked in the winter's snow.

Great indignation has been expressed against the Oberamtmann, who is named Daniel, and nicknamed *Strohkopf* (Strawhead), and efforts are being made to have him brought to judgment. But whether he can be punished is doubtful.

The American reader can have no idea of the degree to which social life and business are impeded and harrassed in Germany by an infinite number of petty laws, such as this of the fire-department. They perplex and annoy people in their business and in their amusements, in their health and in their sickness, in their getting married, and in their burials. Much of this is due to obsolete laws and customs established during the middle ages, but it cannot be denied that a certain inherent tendency in people who have been over-governed to regulate matters overmuch has something to do with it.

THE LIBRARIES OF EUROPE.—The Imperial Library of Paris contains 1,100,000 volumes and 30,000 manuscripts. The Library of the Arsenal (Paris) contains 200,000 volumes and 5,300 manuscripts. The Library of St. Genevieve (Paris) contains 155,000 volumes and 2,800 manuscripts. The Mazarine Library (Paris) contains 150,000 volumes and 4,000 manuscripts. The Sorbonne Library (Paris) contains 80,000 volumes and 900 manuscripts. The Hotel de Ville Library (Paris) contains 65,000 volumes. There are in all the libraries of France 6,233,000 volumes. Great Britain possesses only 1,772,000 volumes in all its libraries. Italy possesses 4,150,000 volumes in all its libraries; the volumes are, for the most part, very valuable old books on theological and ecclesiastical subjects; there are few modern works among them. Austria possesses 2,488,000 volumes in its libraries; Prussia, 2,040,000 volumes; Russia, 824,000 volumes; Bavaria, 1,268,000 volumes; Belgium, 510,000 volumes in all its libraries. These figures would, if added together, show the total number of volumes in all the libraries of Europe to be about 20,000,000 volumes. To read their titles, allowing one minute to each title, would take a man nearly 138,889 days, or nearly 400 years.—*American Literary Gazette.*

INTERESTING FACTS.—A legal stone is 14 pounds in England, and 16 pounds in Holland. A fathom, 6 feet, is derived from the height of a full-grown man. A hand, in horse measure, is 4 inches. An Irish mile 2,240 yards; a Scotch mile is 1,984; a German, 1,806; a Turkish, 1,626. An acre is 1,840 square yards, 1 foot, and 3½ inches each way. A square mile, 1,760 yards each way, contains 640 acres. The human body consists of 240 bones, 9 kinds of articulation or joinings, 100 cartilages or ligaments, 400 muscles or tendons, and 100 nerves, besides blood, arteries, veins, etc. Potatoes planted below three feet do not vegetate; at one foot they grow thickest, and at two feet they are retarded two or three months. There are no solid rocks in the Arctic regions, owing to the severe frosts. The surface of the sea is estimated at 150,000,000 square miles, taking the whole surface of the globe at 190,000,000 square miles. Its greatest depth is supposed to be equal to the height of the highest mountain, or four miles.

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